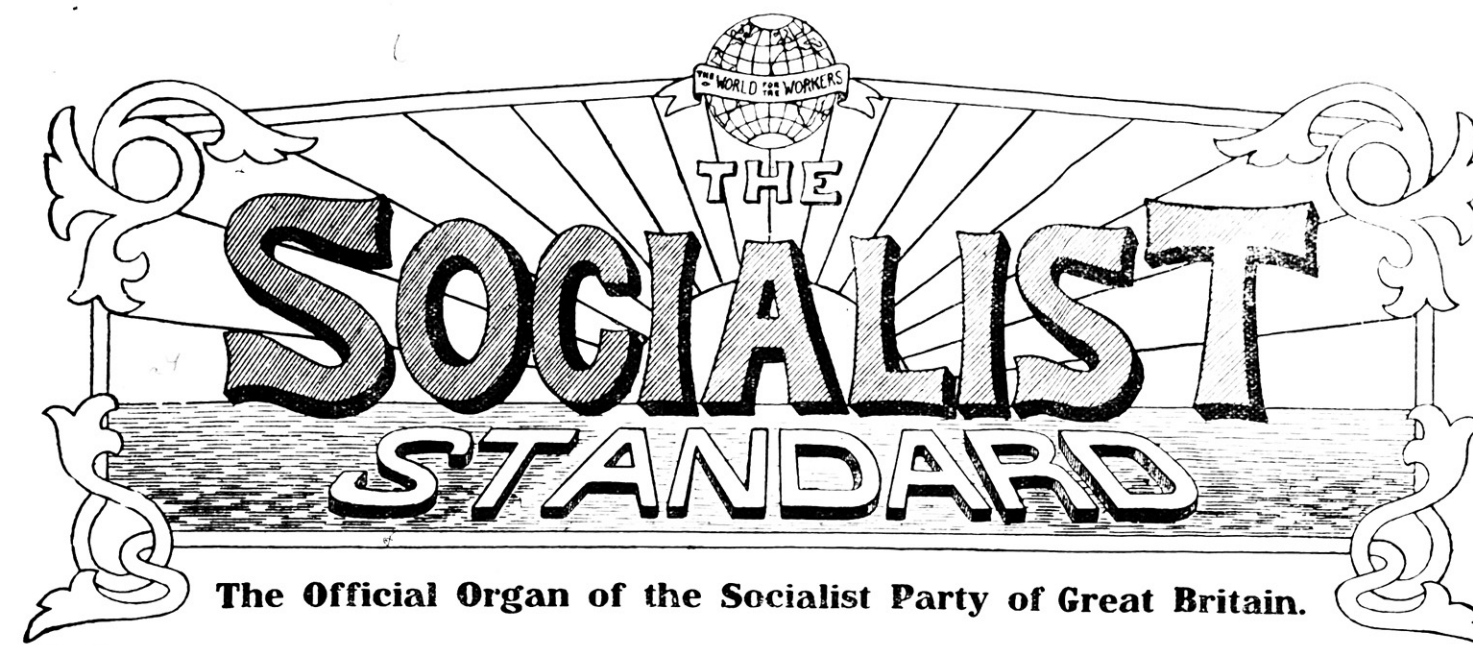


THE  
**SOCIALIST  
STANDARD**

**1910**





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[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

## GENERAL ELECTION.

# MANIFESTO OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

### FELLOW MEMBERS OF THE WORKING CLASS,

UNLIKE the usual election manifesto, this is addressed to those who have not a vote as well as to those who have. Its object is to gain, not your vote, but your understanding. You think, perhaps, that the choice now before you is only between the various candidates clamouring for your support. But there is, as we shall show, another alternative that follows logically and inevitably from the position of the working class. And since a knowledge of this position is essential to intelligent political action, we shall deal briefly with it first, and ask you in consequence to give it a moment's attention.

### WHAT IS YOUR POSITION?

It is your lot to toil for a master while you can, and to starve quietly when you cannot. When you are in work to-day, you toil harder, and produce enormously more than ever before,—yet your wage barely suffices for your maintenance. Unemployment, with all the misery it entails upon you and those dependent upon you, dogs your footsteps. Of the total produce of your labour an increasing portion goes to an idle class, while, though you make all the good things, you are forced to consume the cheapest rubbish. Why is this?

Are you poor because there is not abundance of the necessities of life? Is it because the means of producing them are insufficient, or because there are not willing hands to labour? No. There are hosts of willing labourers. And the instruments of labour become every day more perfect and more productive. Surely, then, with marvellous labour-saving machines and huge waste-saving combines, there should be increased wealth and leisure for all. Why, then, is it that wealth and leisure are only for a class, while poverty and arduous toil are the lot of the producers?

You have noticed that when a labour-saving machine is introduced into a factory to-day, *men are thrown out of work* to starve. The toil and insecurity of those who remain in employ are increased, while only the owner of that machine reaps the benefit. Clearly, however, if those who produce owned the machine, the result would be entirely different; there would be shorter hours of labour and higher remuneration for them. It is, consequently, not the machine that injures us, but the *ownership* of it by the non-producer. Because the workers do not own and control the land and industrial machinery they are the hirelings of those who do own these things, and must sell their bodily energy to them. Thus the propertyless are compelled to cede to the capitalist class the whole product of their labour over and above their maintenance. That is why, so long as class ownership continues, greater poverty for the working class will

accompany the increasing wealth and productivity of society.

The abolition of unemployment and the brightening of the workers' lives can, consequently, only come with the abolition of wage-slavery and of class ownership in the instruments of production. The means for producing wealth must be restored to the workers; and this, to-day, can only be done collectively. This collective ownership and democratic control of industry scientifically organised, is SOCIALISM.

And while there is admittedly no other remedy for unemployment and poverty, there is also no way to Socialism except by means of the conquest of political power by a Socialist working class. Your rulers expend huge sums to retain their control of Government in order to maintain and extend their exploitation. And in advancing to the conquest of the political machinery, we shall, consequently, always find the capitalist class our implacable enemy. As in the past, each side will struggle for its interests as it understands them, and the interests of the working class being diametrically opposed to those of all the capitalists, no quarter can be expected or given. Any alliance or compromise with capitalists in the political struggle can only be a working class surrender. Hence the supreme importance of adhering consistently to the fundamental Socialist principle of the CLASS STRUGGLE. For it is only when the wealth-producers control political power—only when the workers are victorious—that the work of transforming the means of production from ruthless instruments of profit for a few into the means of healthy life for all, can begin.

In the light of these facts let us examine the political parties which are begging for your support during the present election, taking first

### THE TORY PARTY.

Tariff Reform, say the Conservatives, is just what you need. It will relieve the admittedly terrible unemployed evil, will improve the lot of the worker and increase his wages. These and similar Tory statements can only be described as "frigid and calculated lies." The position of the worker as outlined above holds good of every capitalist country, whether it has Protection or Free Trade. Poverty and unemployment are rife, and tend to increase, despite temporary fluctuations, under both fiscal systems. In every country the wage of the worker has a direct relation to his cost of subsistence, but none whatever to the presence or absence of tariff walls. Tariffs, at most, benefit one set of capitalists at the expense of another, but the toilers are wage-slaves exploited to the utmost all the time. The Tories, indeed, are frankly our enemies: they stand for the present system of robbery in all its ugliness. Their antagonism to working-class aims has been proclaimed from the house-tops, and by



in supporting them the working man stultifies himself and sets a seal on his slavery. Let us now turn to

### THE LIBERAL PARTY.

Equally with the Tories they stand for capitalism, and make no secret of their hostility to Socialism. As Dr. Macnamara said, "Radicalism is irrevocably opposed to the principles on which Socialism is based." (1) Mr. Asquith, Mr. Ure, and Mr. Churchill have been equally definite. Take the present Budget over which so much pother is being made. The increased expenditure is due, above all, to huge armaments for the protection of capitalist interests and property. It is a Budget of exploitation. Its disputed taxes have been advocated by Tories, and are in operation in other countries with no benefit to the workers. The only valid grounds for the Tory objections are the exigencies of party politics, and the possibility that the new sources of revenue may postpone the necessity for a tax on imports.

Mr. Lloyd George rightly summed up the overdone Tory opposition and showed what the Budget really is when he said (2)

When I come along and say to the landlord: "Here, the State wants money to protect you and your property—your land—your mansion—your rights—your privileges; we want money to protect you; you must pay £15 out of £150—they say Robber!"

And do they intend to abolish the House of Lords? Mr. Asquith said: (3)

You will be told that the issue lies between government by two chambers and government by a single chamber. That is not the case. I myself, and I believe a large majority of the Liberal party are in favour of what is called a bi-cameral system.

Thus the Liberals do not intend, and, indeed, never have intended, to abolish the House of Lords. That institution is regarded by the capitalist class as a great bulwark of the "rights of property," and any reform of the Upper House, put forward by the Lords themselves, the Tories, or the Liberals, can only result in strengthening it against the people. The Liberal party would, moreover, be impossible without the Lords as a foil. It is their perpetual election cry and universal excuse for broken promises. Indeed, while pretending to protest against usurpation, the Liberals have deliberately concealed new privileges. After saying that to dissolve at the dictation of the Lords would be to capitulate, they have deliberately capitulated. Instead of making use of the undoubted rights of the Commons, or using the power which Lord Courtney (4) has shown that the Government possesses over the Lords, the Liberals have given the Upper House the powerful precedents and privileges of rejecting a Budget and compelling a dissolution; precedents which even the ultimate passing of the present finance bill will neither destroy nor weaken. Even the *Church Times* was moved to remark that "There is only one true description of the situation—ministers have capitulated to the House of Lords." (5) It is seemingly part of a great conspiracy to strengthen the Upper Chamber and humbug the people. There is every reason, therefore, why your attitude toward Liberal candidates should be one of uncompromising hostility.

But we have not quite finished with the Liberal party. There is still a section of it which claims our attention. We refer to

### THE LABOUR PARTY,

(which includes the so-called Independent Labour Party). The Labour M.P.s cannot be completely separated from the Liberals in politics, for their political independence is non-existent. "My Budget," says Mr. Lloyd George. "My Budget," says Mr. Philip Snowden. (6) They are "whole heartedly" for the capitalists' Budget. And it is amusing to find them trying to assure the murmuring rank and file that no understanding with the Liberals exists, in face of the withdrawal of "Labour" men in favour of Liberals, and of Liberals in favour of "Labour" men. One does not, of course, expect to find a written compact. It might become awkward evidence, while, as the *Times* says, "With friends who understand each other so well it is unnecessary." (7) Quite so. The compromise of the last General Election, in fact, is being repeated on a more complete scale.

The legislatively impotent "Labour" members claim as theirs measures passed by the Liberal majority, and are now engaged in booming the bogus agitation over the Lords and the Budget, and in rallying the workers once more to the support of the Liberal section of the exploiting class.

That there is no Socialism in the "Labour" group is proven by the welcome given them by the anti-Socialist Liberals. Mr. Churchill said: (8)

Don't let there be any division in our ranks at this juncture. I know that the Lords and their backers are counting on divisions between Liberal and Labour. But I think they are likely to be a little bit mistaken.

Several of the newer candidates have been speaking plainly of the pressure brought to bear on them to force them to retire in favour of the Liberals. Mr. Vernon Hartshorn made a vigorous protest. He said: (9)

I would have gone on in spite of this, but I have been reluctantly compelled, from circumstances of a very personal kind, to conclude that the whole machinery of the Labour Party throughout the country is under the control of the Liberals, and as the latter did not approve of a fight in Mid-Glamorgan, the former are left with no option but to submit to their masters, and I am left with no option but to surrender.

Of such is the "Independence" of the "Labour" Party. The workers pay the piper and their masters call the tune!

There is, however, another organisation, which need not be given a distinct heading. We refer to the SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY. This organisation talks of the Class Struggle, but denies it by its every political act, and does not otherwise differ from the "Labour" Party, which it jealously emulates. One of their number, Mr. Will Thorne, was elected in 1906 as a "Labour" member, under the auspices of the Labour Party, and is a candidate now under similar conditions. In the present instance the political worthlessness of the S.D.P. may be gauged by the fact that in their official organ, while they denounce the campaign against the Lords as a mere "stage fight," and assert that the "Liberals do not wish to abolish the veto of the Lords," on another page they publish as

leading article "A Plea for Unity," in which they say: (10)

We are inclined to accede to the claim of ministerial journals and politicians that in the present contest we should be content to waive every other consideration and make the question of the House of Lords the supreme issue, and therefore avoid on this occasion all division of the forces which might be arrayed against the House of Lords. We are all for showing an undivided front against them.

And they conclude this touching appeal by suggesting to the Liberals that they refrain from opposing their candidates and help to get them returned. If the S.D.P. has not "got on" it is not because it has any principles that stand in the way. It "waives every other consideration," including every vestige of Socialist principle, in order to get into Parliament, and offers to aid the Liberals in what it confesses to be a bogus agitation.

### WHAT SHOULD YOU DO?

It is evident that from your standpoint as wage-workers none of the foregoing parties is worthy of your support. Not by voting for any of them could you strike a blow for your class. Indeed, from the position laid down it is obvious that the only party you should support must be in direct contrast with these parties. Your party should be democratic. It should have Socialism as its programme and the Class Struggle as its guiding principle. Its candidates should be controlled by the rank and file. It should devote its energies to converting the workers to Socialism, and to organising them for the conquest of political power for its realisation. It should never compromise with capitalist parties, and should refuse to barter away the workers' salvation for crumbs that profit not. That is the party that you should support, and for its candidates alone could you logically vote. Only one party answers to that description in this country—the SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN. But since the ground must be well tilled before the good harvest can be reaped, that party is putting no candidates forward during the present election. Even the poverty which impedes the activity of the working-class party is in itself only a reflex of the present unreadiness of the electorate. Therefore the principles of Socialism must be more widely propagated and the workers more fully organised, before candidates of the Socialist Party can usefully enter the Parliamentary arena. And if you agree that your position is as we have outlined it; if you realise that your policy must be distinct from and hostile to all capitalist politics, and that Socialism alone can help your class, then it is your duty to join the Socialist Party and take a democratic share in its work; thus advancing the day—not far distant—when it will place its own candidates—your candidates—in the Parliamentary field to wage uncompromisingly the fight for Socialism. BUT UNTIL YOU CAN THUS VOTE FOR YOURSELVES AND STRIKE A BLOW AGAINST EXPLOITATION, IT IS CLEARLY YOUR DUTY TO

### ABSTAIN FROM VOTING.

To do otherwise would be to stultify yourselves and to support the system that crushes you. Go to the ballot box by all means, but only to write *Socialism* across your voting paper; for if you cannot vote now for what you want, it is folly to vote for what you do not want. The vote, like the razor, is an instrument for a purpose. If you cannot for the moment use it to your advantage, it is madness to cut your throat. And by voting for your enemies, for traitors and chalcans, you are surely cutting your throat.

Above all, however, whether you have a vote or not, realise how much depends upon you and how much remains to be done. A vote, even for a candidate of the Socialist Party, is of no value unless it expresses a Socialist consciousness. Understanding must precede action, for Socialism is impossible until the workers become class-conscious Socialists. There is, therefore, work for you to do. There are outlets for your energy infinitely more profitable to your class than voting for the defenders of exploitation. The army of Socialism must be recruited, and your place is within the ranks of the organisation of your class, taking your part in the battle for the emancipation of your fellows from wage-slavery.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE  
SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

(1) *Daily Chronicle*, Oct. 21. (2) Carnarvon (italics are ours). (3) *Albert Hall*, Dec. 10. (4) *House of Lords*, Nov. 30. (5) Quoted *Daily Chronicle*, Dec. 6. (6) *Portsmouth*, Dec. 3. (7) *Dec. 9*. (8) *Crews*, Dec. 9. (9) Quoted *Daily Mail*, Dec. 8. (10) *Justice*, Dec. 11 (italics are ours).

This our earth this day produces sufficient for our existence. This our earth produces not only a sufficiency, but a superabundance, and pours a cornucopia of good things down upon us. Further, it produces sufficient for stores and granaries to be filled to the roof-tree for years ahead. I verily believe that the earth in one year produces enough food to last for thirty. Why, then, have we not enough? Why do people die of starvation, or lead a miserable existence on the verge of it? Why have millions upon millions to toil from morning to evening just to gain a mere crust of bread? Because of the absolute lack of organisation by which such labour should produce its effect, the absolute lack of distribution, the absolute lack even of the very idea that such things are possible. Nay, even to mention such things, to say that they are possible, is criminal with many. Madness could hardly go farther.

That selfishness has all to do with it I entirely deny. The human race for ages upon ages has been enslaved by ignorance and by interested persons whose object it has been to confine the minds of men, thereby doing more injury than if with infected hands they purposely imposed disease on the heads of the people. Almost worse than these, and at the present day as injurious, are those persons incessantly declaring, teaching, and impressing upon all that to work is man's highest condition. This falsehood is the interested superstition of an age infatuated with money, which having accumulated it cannot even expend it in pageantry. It is a falsehood propagated for the doubtful benefit of two or three out of ten thousand. It is the lie of a morality founded on money only, and utterly outside and having no association whatever with the human being itself.

RICHARD JEFFRIES.

## The JOHN BULL LEAGUE.

PHYSICIAN, HEAL THYSELF.

Our attention has been drawn to the John Bull League and an opinion asked upon it. The principle guide we have to this organisation is the inaugural address delivered by its president, Mr. Horatio Bottomley, at the Albert Hall on October 21st, 1909. Before we criticise the speech and its contents, we may admit that the form in which the matter was presented is of the first order, with its rotundity of phrase and flashes of wit that easily explain the popularity of the person and emphasise the necessity for challenging the political and social position of the body. With regard to the matter, however, we can safely say that the rapid eclecticism that borrows phrases and ideas from all and sundry; that extracts suitable titbits from any and every philosophy and emasculates them by extracting, must be purely abortive when applied to questions of an economic and social nature, if the modern theory of the organic nature of society be admitted. The John Bull League, therefore, in tilting at windmills in the shape of abuses and ignoring essentials, undermines that practical understanding of present day social conditions which must precede the acceptance of the Socialist solution.

The stated object of the League is the stamping out of cant and self-righteousness, and the introduction of common-sense business methods into the government of the country. Much stress is laid throughout the speech on the "business methods," which in Parliamentary matters is the touchstone by which everything is tried. "What would a common-sense board of directors do?" seems to be the question that has to be asked on every thing that comes before Parliament; just as some people would ask on every question, "what would Jesus do?" Now, the desirability of the standard depends entirely on the point of view. The object of the most common-sense business man is to make his business pay; that is, to increase profits. That object does not necessarily fit in with the point of view of the workers in that business, indeed, their object will be the increase of their wages, which will diminish profits. And this capitalist point of view is very strongly hinted at in its fullest significance in the peroration which is given in full, as follows: "I do not know how you read the signs of the times. For myself, I think that this country of ours, this Empire of ours, is entering upon a critical period. I think her sway is in the balance. The European nations are thinking what they dare not speak. Demos—the great god of the people—is shaking off his chains, and hungry men and women, conscious only of their sufferings and unable to understand the complicated phenomena of our communal life, are asking why they starve in the midst of plenty. And all the time, the professional politician prattles his party platitudes, and the ponderous professor prates about 'political principles.' Ladies and gentlemen, do you see the clouds gathering?—do you see the 'trail of the curling winds'?—do you hear the distant rumbling? If you do, join the John Bull League." So! our country is in a critical condition; the people are rising and asking awkward questions; the professional politicians are not alive to the danger; if you are, join us. That appeal is not to the people who are awakening, but who do not understand, with the intention of enlightening them; it is an appeal to those who have, to wake up and resist the demands of those who have not.

Having sorted out the object of the League, we may turn briefly to the statement of position regarding the larger questions that already divide the opinion of the country into more or less antagonistic camps. The position is carefully chosen in each case to appeal to as large a section of opinion as possible—obviously. Take religion. On the negative side we are treated to a warm criticism of those who thrive on Foreign Missionary Societies and the like, we are told, coming to the positive side, "its church will be broad enough to embrace all mankind. It embraces all mankind, tolerating, respecting, and honouring their faith. . . . It will know no sect, no dogma, no distinctions; it will rest upon the corner-stones of the four

quarters of the world and it will be roofed over with the illimitable domain of heaven." If anything could be more ambiguous than that, kindly refer us to it.

Politically, the party system is condemned, and business methods sought to be introduced in place. The anomalies of the present electoral methods are dwelt upon and proportional representation delicately hinted at. The House of Lords are very gently criticised, while the necessity for a second chamber is laid stress upon, and a suggestion made for a body, partly hereditary, partly appointed. The Crown is eulogised: The League looking upon the King as "our most valuable national asset—our best statesman, and, by a long way, our finest ambassador."

And so on, almost without end. Throughout the whole speech, there is no hint of the underlying problem of poverty, no glimpse of a way to social and economic freedom for the working class. Quite the contrary, they are urged to send their masters to rule over them in Parliament on the same principles adopted in the workshop—the principles on which capitalist business is run. As though all capitalist government were not carried on for the capitalist class by the capitalist class to the exploitation and degradation of the working class, notwithstanding official incapacity, corruption or expediency, and as though the workers stood to gain anything by such a proceeding! When the working-class members of the John Bull League—if such exist—get down to think about the things that matter, they will discover that the greatest abuse they can find in modern society is the outgrowth—exaggerated, it may be—of some established principle consistent with the capitalist basis of society, and that the real cure in each case lies in the alteration of the basis from capitalism to Socialism. D. K.

## JOTTINGS.

The *Manchester Guardian* (29.11.09.), quoting from the *Standard*, gave the number of constituencies in which there will be three-cornered contests as seventy-eight, unless an agreement is reached between the Liberal and Labour Parties. It will be interesting to compare the number of constituencies actually contested by the Labour Party with the above figures.

The "revolution" attributed to the action of the Lords in rejecting the Finance Bill is as nothing to the change in number the above three-cornered-fight constituencies will undergo. Just keep your eye on them, gentle reader.

Mr. Victor Grayson, in the *Clarion* (26.11.09.), issues "A Call to Arms" against any compact being entered into with the Liberals to avoid three-cornered contests. Messrs. Snowden, Henderson, and Keir Hardie have come in for a fair share of his wrath.

But the position of these gentlemen is quite a logical one for a party of reform mongers, and it is Mr. Grayson who is illogical. In order to catch votes he plastered his election address well over with reforms (eleven in number), and having got in, he is, in justice to his constituents, bound to work for the reforms he had advocated.

As the Liberal party is best able to pass these measures, then Mr. Grayson's business as a reformer is to help them in every way to do so. Of course, were he elected as a Socialist, his present stand might be more correct; but neither he nor any other M.P. (not excepting Mr. Will Thorne) has been elected under those conditions upon which alone a Socialist can take his seat.

Let Mr. Grayson, therefore, pull himself together, and do a little mental stock-taking.

The S.D.P. sometimes say Socialism is the only hope of the workers, but in their official organ, *Justice* (27.11.09.) they have the brazen effrontery to say that "the present crisis might justify an arrangement with the Liberals which would ensure that none of their seats should be endangered in the election by triangular contests, and that there should be whole-hearted co-operation with them against the Lords, if only it was to be a real fight."

In 1900 they decided to "support all anti-war candidates, whatever their political colour."

So it seems we may conclude that the class war which is to be carried on by the workers organising themselves (*vide* S.D.P. programme) can be, nay, is, suspended from time to time. The paragraph in which the quotation given above occurs is headed "Triangular Contests and a Sham Fight." THE sham fight (in this instance) is the one the S.D.P. engage in with capitalism. If that was a *real* fight there could be no talk of "whole-hearted co-operation" with either Liberal or Tory capitalist.

The American ambassador at a Thanks-giving Day Banquet held in London on November 25th said, "his countrymen had a thanksgiving proclamation ready made, if they studied their manufacturing, telephone, telegraph and mining returns." The "returns" from these concerns which fall to the workers' share are such as, on the average, will barely maintain themselves and their families. Those persons who find cause for thanksgiving in such returns are of the minority of the quoted speaker's countrymen, not the majority.

Colorado strikes, Homestead riots, McKee's Rocks horrors, militia and martial law at Bridgeport,—these are the things the majority of the people of the United States have cause to give thanks for. But they'll have no banquet, we may be sure.

The Ambassador went on: "Look at the princely gifts for the relief of suffering, and the promotion of science, and the diffusion of education."

Yes, look at them closely and you will find that despite the spread of education and growth of scientific discovery, the amount of suffering to be relieved also grows.

The Executive of the Labour Party have no control over the local Labour Parties and to say they can order the withdrawal of Labour candidates in certain constituencies is false. What happens is this—the E.C. of the Labour Party point out to candidates and local organisations the undesirability of contesting so many triangular fights. The local associations are free to pursue the candidature or not as they wish. They usually do not think it advisable to do so, because clause IV., sec. 3 of the Labour Party's constitution contains the following:

"Before a candidate can be regarded as adopted for a constituency, his candidature must be sanctioned by the National Executive."

and further because the object of the Parliamentary Fund is—

"To assist in paying the election expenses of Candidates adopted in accordance with this Constitution, in maintaining them when elected; and to provide the salary of a National Party Agent."

Therefore, to say the E.C. of the Labour Party can cause the withdrawal of candidates is equal to calling a spade a spade when it is not—everyone knows it is an agricultural implement.

At the meeting of the Herden Collieries, Ltd. held at Darlington on November 26th, Sir Hugh Bell in his presidential address said, "It should be borne in mind that many people went into business not merely to obtain wealth, but to assist in developing the country and improve the welfare of their fellow men."

Reading this, I thought I had at last found a gentleman who engaged in business for the pleasure of doing good to his fellows. But no, Sir Hugh did not come up to my expectations. For on reading further I learned that "The profit and loss account, he was sorry to say, showed £45,393 profit, as against £87,383 last year." I was disappointed too, not in the profit, but in my hopes having been falsely raised in imagining I had found a philanthropist "in business for the pleasure" of doing good to others.

JAYCEE.

The receipt of a copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.



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## The Socialist Standard,



SATURDAY, JAN. 1, 1910.

## Blatchford, War and Socialism.

Upon the cue of the General Election the Conservative party has acquired the services of (for the moment) a most useful journalistic hack. We refer to Mr. Robert Blatchford, the idol of that multi-coloured conglomeration, the Clarionettes. An able writer or speaker who will (for a consideration) beat the big drum of "the country in danger," "the peril of invasion," etc., is sure of a large hearing in the present state of mind of the working class. This the Tories well appreciate, and their object in giving "Nunquam's" German War Scare and pro Conscription twaddle such enormous advertisement through their perhaps most widely read organ, the "Daily Mail," and elsewhere, must be patent to all.

Meanwhile Socialists have an account to settle with Blatchford. This man has for many years taught in gentle phrases what millions have in all confidence mistaken for Socialism.

He gained the confidence and affection of thousands—only to betray them. For to invite the British workers to arm themselves to fight their German fellows—to ask them to give "the question of national defence" "precedence of every other question"—in a word, to ask them to drop Socialism, is nothing less than betrayal. However, the betrayed have not been without warning. Since its inception the Socialist Party of Great Britain has frequently demonstrated Blatchford's worthlessness as a teacher of Socialism, and his culpability in misleading the workers. So in passing we may perhaps be allowed the mixed consolation afforded by the reflection that their idol's flagrant jingo and anti-Socialist attitude will, for some "Clarion" worshippers at least, have the effect of breaking their mental bonds and set them to reconsider their position.

Blatchford appeals to "the evidence of facts." But what facts? The facts that most nearly concern this and every other capitalist-dominated country? By no means. Had he dealt with the facts of working-class misery and enslavement—the hideous facts of the capitalism his pen is to-day helping to perpetuate—his screed would not have been printed in the "Daily Mail" nor in any other capitalist daily. Not by helping the toilers but by their betrayal could he gain prominence in immense type, and for many days in succession, on the placard of a great capitalist paper.

The fact is that the working millions are impoverished and subjugated, whether under the Kaiser and his German Rothschilds *et al*, or under Edward and his English Rothschilds & Co., and consequently have no business to offer their blood and interest for the war service of either set of bloodsuckers. This is unwittingly suggested for the British workers by Blatchford himself when he says: "I got back from Germany and saw the wretchedness and squalor of the borough and Bermondsey and the rest of London's underworld. You don't see anything like that in Germany and I thought to myself 'Is this how we are preparing to fight for the

existence of our empire? What use will these ragged, famished spectres be?" (Italics ours.) Indeed, this language invites the reflection that if such is the case, conquest by Germany might, then, mean an improvement here.

So, then, in view of the simple facts we must invite our readers to do all they can to counteract the evil works of capitalism's ally, Robert Blatchford. We invite them to join the Socialist Party of Great Britain and thus help render impotent all the misleaders and their pay-masters, and bring nearer the day when a people's dreams shall no more be haunted by fear of famine, rapine, and the shambles.

## THE WOMAN IN THE CASE.

FROM the more or less distorted mirrors which the Stage holds up to Nature, the observant may detect many a true picture; the class-conscious worker focussing the shifting phantasm through the discerning lens of Economic Interpretation, may throw upon the screen flashlights pregnant with meaning for his class, fraught with lessons of deep import to the seeing eye. "The School for Scandal."

Delf and conscientiously uninspired actor-manager Tree sees but an opportunity for exploiting anew poor Sheridan, and for occupying the centre of his stage. For him, for the unthinking, the central figure is the Injured Husband, or, at best, the Erring Wife.

The worker, keenly conscious of his position in society, fully recognising his slave status, sees behind the seeming show a REALITY, grim, grey. For him, in the reeking "gods," to whom faintly ascends the odour of perfumed vice and bloody breath of smirking cannibals, fat on their filthy meal of workers' marrow, for him at the head of the programme, chief among the *dramatis personae*, stands a figure

## NOT IN THE BILL.

The "Little French Milliner!"

A joke? Let Laughter hold its sides! The moral Joseph stands self-confessed of an intrigue with a member of the working class, who, my sweet lady Suffragette friends, voting or voteless had, by reason of her working-class position, only "some character to lose."

The screen falls! Complaisant, paunchy Sir Peter discovers in lieu of the milliner his own wife.

"Lady Teazle, by all that's damnable!"

Falls the screen. Falls the lying hypocrisy and cant labelled "Morality" by Church and State, twin monsters of one loathsome brood. The truth stands revealed in all its obscene nakedness. The slave system carries with it its own penalty for the slave owner. The bought wife, with all the native instincts of the courtesan, lacking the excuse of her sister prostitute at whom she raises her skirts; both products of the social system, inevitable while flesh and blood are but the social hieroglyph for a function of Capital, ineradicable by the quack remedies of Reform and the blandly innocuous pills of Labour Jesusism or the brimstone and treacle of fire-eating, bazaar-mongering, patriotic, municipal bun-and-milkers. To disappear only, and finally, when clear-eyed Revolution, holding aloft its banner whereon is inscribed "The emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of

## RACE OR SEX,"

shall usher in a new era, where law shall be truly love and love law.

O, my closely packed brothers and sisters, look, and yet look again. Around the trembling, guilty wife hovers impalpable, yet gross to the sense, the pathetic figure of the "little French milliner." Type of the maiden of your class, who must be sacrificed to the Beast of Capitalism, prey to the lust of the satyrs sitting in the front of the house, clothed by you, fed by you, alternately flattering and preaching at you, but devouring you all the time.

Mutely the little French milliner, peering from between the lines of Sheridan's master-

piece, peering sadly through muddy impurities, mutely she stretches her arms toward

## HER CLASS,

dumbly beseeching you to note the fetters upon her hands, the weight upon her young soul; fetters you will not perceive until the bonds upon your own limbs have burnt their degradation into your heart and mind, stinging you, urging you to rise or be forever fallen. Mayhap, fighting for a seat in "your" tram whilst homeward bent, glancing at the tired face of sweet-heart or wife, to whom a little pleasure snatched to-day means added weariness and work to-morrow, you may have stirrings which will lead you to the camp of the Socialist Party of Great Britain, the party pledged to no rest until the

## WOMAN IN THE CASE

be she raucous Clare Forster or nameless French milliner, shall stand clean and beautiful, perfect woman, nobly planned, aureoled by a light that the Socialist Commonwealth alone can confer.

PETER GOO.

Mr. Philip Snowden, the Socialist M.P. for Blackburn, who recently distinguished himself by terming the working classes of this country "the drink-sodden democracy," is evidently aspiring to be called to that Palladium of privilege, the Peerage. He has now boldly entered the lists as the champion of "one law for the rich, another for the poor." He writes in the *Christian Commonwealth*: "The Suffragettes are women of education and culture, accustomed to comfort, cleanliness, decency, and refined habits. To them the conditions which the chronic prisoner would regard as comparative luxury are cruel, indecent and degrading. Treatment as ordinary prisoners is inflicting upon the Suffragettes a punishment far greater than the same punishment is felt to be by the ordinary woman law-breaker. On this ground these women ought to be placed in the first division." In the eyes of the law, Mr. Snowden, all are supposed to be equal. You were sent to the House of Commons by the "drink-sodden democracy" to advocate the cause of the poor and oppressed. If the conditions of imprisonment "are cruel, indecent and degrading," how is it that you have never lifted up your voice in Parliament to have our inhuman and degrading treatment of prisoners brought into conformity with modern progress? Instead of doing this, however, you feebly suggest that Suffragettes, because they belong to the wealthy class, should receive exceptional treatment when they break the law, although the regulations which at present govern His Majesty's prisons are, if anything, too good for the ordinary inmates. Not even a "distressed duke" or a "bold, bad baronet" has had the hardihood to give vent to such views, and we hear there is much joy in the ranks of the wealthy at the prospect of Mr. Snowden's renunciation of the Democratic principles which caused his election.

"The Pepper Box."

## CANDID.

The Anti-Socialist Union is fighting the investors' battle, and we gladly endorse its appeal to be supplied with ammunition by those whose cause it is so strenuously and successfully defending.—"Financial News," Nov. 15.

## MANIFESTO

## OF THE

## SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Fourth Edition with preface.

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## REFUTED BY HIMSELF.

TRANSLATED FROM *Le Socialisme* BY F.C.W.

We have an erudite Minister of Agriculture. If you doubt it spend a half penny on the *Journal Officiel* of the 16th of March last. You will find therein, spread over thirty-nine columns, a speech delivered by M. Ruau on the 11th of March 1909, at the *Musée Social* under the auspices of the French National Federation of Friendly Societies (Federation Nationale de la Mutualite Francaise). You will not repent of your extravagance because there is something in the speech that will amuse you. In the first place notice at the foot of each page, the references to the numerous books the author has made use of. There Marc's "Capital" is quoted a dozen times, Kautsky's "Agrarian Question" is also referred to; as is Frederick Engels, Vandervelde, and David. It is quite a Socialist Library. In the text of the speech you will at each step come across the same names, and also those of Gatti, Jaures, and others, including even our Limoges Congress, not to speak of the Congresses of the French *Parti Ouvrier*.

What an honour!

The fact is that the speech is entirely designed to "demonstrate" (against the Socialists) that capitalist concentration does not operate at all in agricultural property, and that "the present state of small property is a flourishing one," and that even "with regard to the future growth there is reason to believe in an increase in its vitality."

I do not know to which of his subordinates M. Ruau (having to deliver a speech) gave the order to make the discourse he read. But I know that he must be a good practical joker. He took it for granted that his chief, happy to find himself at the head of all those quotations from books which he had never read, and perhaps never opened, would not notice anything wrong. And he has amused himself by causing his chief to give in support of his statements, arguments which prove exactly the opposite of his assertions. His joke has succeeded, and doubtless he laughed up his sleeve to know that his minister, with all the "side" and self-sufficiency of a man sure of his facts, had "found" that the number of small proprietors does not diminish, by reading to his astounded hearers the following statistics:

"An inquiry in July 1908, made by the Ministry of Finances, gave as 5,505,461 the total number of agricultural proprietors, which is thus split up according to the area exploited:

Very small property (less than one Hectare)	2,087,851
Small property (1 to 10 hectares)	2,523,713
Medium property (10 to 40 "	745,862
Great property (40 to 100 "	118,497
Very great property (100 hectares upwards)	29,541

The corresponding figures for 1892 are

Very small property	22,35,405
Small property	2,617,557
Medium "	711,118
Great "	105,391
Very great "	32,280

"This comparison appears to show that small property has increased sensibly by 93,815 exploitations, as much to the detriment of 'very small' property as to that of the 'medium' and 'great,' and that the 'very great' property has slightly increased by 2,739 exploitations, to the detriment of 'great' and perhaps a little, very little, at the expense of the 'medium.' The development of 'very great' property noticeable from 1882 to 1892 has stopped in order to give place to that of 'small' property: the slight increase in 'very great' property will have continued, but this time it clearly appears that the movement does not touch 'small' property at all.

"The most reliable statistics tend therefore to prove that there exists no movement toward the absorption of small rural property."

All this beautiful reasoning had but one misfortune, for without taking the trouble to find a pencil and work it out, it is seen at a glance that the 2,523,713 of 1908 are *less* (and not more) than the 2,617,558 of 1892. Consequently

instead of "increasing" from 1892 to 1908, "small" property has "diminished" sensibly by 93,815 exploitations."

That is what the Minister of Agriculture has been pompously giving forth at the *Musée Social*.

It is true that a friend, a little better at arithmetic, has apparently warned him that he was giving arms against himself. A week after he sought to retract his steps by giving *Journal Officiel* of 22nd March a so-called *correction* of his speech, which, so far from confirming, still refutes his thesis.

M. Ruau, in that *correction*, recognises that 93,000 exploitation less is a decrease. But, says he, there is only question here of the element "number"; if we consider the superficial area "the facts change entirely."

Let us see, then. The minister gives us now, as the figures of "very small" property (sterile and uncultivated land not included) super-

for 1892	1,213,200 hectares
" 1908	1,228,597 "

As figures regarding the superficial area of "small" property

for 1892	10,383,300 hectares
" 1908	11,559,342 "

And he cries triumphantly:

"Thus 'very small' property has diminished by 14,603 hectares, apparently to the profit of 'small' property: 'small' property has increased by 1,176,012 hectares."

But, excuse me! In the first place and in passing, if the "small" property increases to the detriment of "very small," it will be because, always weak, the plots of land nevertheless are being concentrated. This would already be the contrary of what M. Ruau affirms.

And as for the principal point of his argument it hasn't a leg to stand on. If there are 93,000 less proprietors in possession of one million hectares more land, it is therefore (just the contrary of his assertions) that the "small" exploitations increase in area, and that consequently there is still concentration.

Each "small" proprietor instead of possessing an average of 3.9 hectares as in 1892, owns 4.5 in 1908.

Fewer proprietors for more land owned, that is what is put forward as proof that agricultural concentration is a Socialist fiction.

And that's what comes of accepting the role of simple reader of a lucubration that one doesn't understand. BRACKE.

## NOTES FROM THE MERRIE VILLAGE.

## -O-

THE Islington Branch have engaged the Public Hall, Caledonian Road Baths, for a great mass meeting to celebrate the anniversary of the Commune of Paris, on Monday, March 21st. The hall will seat over 800 persons, and the local comrades are determined to fill it.

In March 1908 we challenged Mr. R. N. McDougall, of the Liberty and Property Defense League, to debate. He stated in reply that he would debate "after the Licensing Bill has been finally disposed of."

Reminded a few weeks ago of his promise, Mr. McDougall replied: "I have recently had two big debates with Socialists, but do not mind another provided you are willing to comply with one or two conditions. Firstly the debate must be in some town outside the metropolitan area where a fair sized audience could be got and a report in the Press. Secondly you must undertake all financial responsibility and management of the debate and in addition must *pay me £1*" (italics ours) "to cover my expenses. If you object to these terms I reply that I am not seeking the debate, having much better ways of spending my time than discussing Socialism with people who do not understand it."

No doubt the latter portion of the communication was prompted by the recollection of his recent debate with the Rev. Conrad Noel, and it would be interesting to know if the sum of £1 was Mr. McDougall's price in the other debate he refers to. Our secretary had visions of being inundated with applications for debates if this practice were adopted; so we here take the opportunity of informing all and sundry that those desiring debates on these terms need not apply. Speaking at Highbury Corner a few weeks ago

a member of the I.L.P. asserted that the S.P.G.B. "are retarding the progress of Socialism."

Challenged to debate that question with a member of the S.P.G.B., he advised the challenger to communicate with the Islington branch of the I.L.P. Our branch immediately wrote to the I.L.P., who replied with the now stereotyped phrase: "No good purpose could be served by a debate between two Socialist organisations."

This is somewhat illogical as in the first place we were told that we are "retarding the progress of Socialism," and therefore could not be a Socialist organisation; but as a convenience for wriggling out of an awkward situation, well, then we are Socialists. H. A. Y.

## CORRESPONDENCE

## REPLY TO H. HARRISON.

Your friend's trouble seems to arise from an insufficient study of my reply to your queries. It was clearly stated there that the value of all commodities is measured by the socially necessary simple labour time required in their production. The fact, therefore, that the commodity cost 8d. to produce tells us as little about its value as does the fact that it sold for 3s. 6d. The cost of production says nothing as to the labour crystallised within it, nor does the price. Let your friend ask himself whether it is socially necessary labour dusting the blouse until the fleeting fashion had robbed it of its use-value and rendered it unsalable. A. E. J.

The following resolution was sent to the daily Press, and was in nearly all cases suppressed.

The attention of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Great Britain having been drawn to certain articles now appearing in the "Daily Mail" from the pen of Robert Blatchford on the question of Germany *versus* England, the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Great Britain wishes to repudiate the said articles as being against the best interest of the Working Class of both countries, and denies that Mr. Blatchford, who shows by these articles that he fails to grasp the Principles of Socialism, is in any sense of the word one of the founders of Socialism.

In sending us his "Second Report," Mr. W. R. Trotter, British Representative of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, says in his covering letter:

"Already there are evidences that the Salvation Army is making a desperate effort to recover lost 'business.' But after the exposures made of the methods of such organisations, there is little likelihood of the workers being misled as much as formerly and stamped by their emigration schemes, which are generally undertaken in conjunction with some capitalistic enterprise for mutual profit to the consignor and consignee—the emigrant himself being the object of last and usually least consideration. Column after column of printed 'advice' given to emigrants by these societies may very well be summed up in one of their own phrases which is always emphasised: 'Take the first job that offers.'"

"There are rumours of many new schemes but none of them has yet matured. Even the much 'boomed' Salvation Army Colony in Alberta is still the combined dream of the directors of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company and the Salvation Army. We can say no more of this scheme at present, it being impossible to criticise a 'Colony' which does not exist in Canada."

The report, which deals, be it said, with the doings of several "emigration societies," makes excellent reading, and well exposes the cruel swindles perpetrated so generally upon the optimistic emigrant. There is, perhaps, no country in the world where Christian cant and arrant ignorance are found so closely united with the most intense and heartless exploitation as they are in Canada. And that the Salvation Army should take a hand in the villainous work was quite to be expected—for if there is a "hell and damnation" organisation that understands "biz" it is the S.A. We shall have more to say on the doings of Booth & Co. in our February issue. AD. ST. M.



## THE QUARREL 'TWTX MR. A. AND MR. B.

"They were standing under a tree, each with an arm round the other's neck, and Alice knew which was which in a moment, because one of them had 'Dum' embroidered on his collar, and the other 'Dee.' 'I suppose they've each got 'Tweedle' round at the back of the collar,' she said to herself.

"Of course you agree to have a battle?" Tweedledum said in a calmer tone.

"I suppose so," the other sulkily replied."

At the present juncture, now that the nerve-shattering crisis has at last arrived, it may be as well to think for awhile in what way working-class interests will be affected by the result of the present electoral struggle. The gauntlet has been thrown down by Mr. A. on behalf of his party, and has been eagerly taken up by the astute Mr. B. The leaders and their immediate followers are endeavouring to arouse the rank and file to a sense of the solemnity of the occasion. We are in the throes of a life or death conflict, the like of which has not been known for centuries. So we are told, at least. Yet, strange as it may seem, some few of us appear to care very little about this momentous issue. Whispers have even emanated from certain sceptical quarters that the battle is not altogether genuine, that the Champion of Nonconformity and the Knight of Philosophic Doubt are not such implacable enemies as they pretend.

Perhaps, it all becomes a question of the point of view. The human race, as a whole, has developed, in a more or less perfect degree, the sense of sight. But very few of its members dare face, clear-eyed, the naked truth. Most men, fearful of blindness, and therefore, maybe, wise in their generation, prefer to examine all things through the blurred and smoky glasses of ignorance and prejudice. If the writer were a Liberal or Tory democrat, or, worse still, if he were a member of the I.L.P., he might imagine that the result of the 1910 General Election would change, for the better or worse, his present unenviable position in society. But not belonging to either of the hybrid political types above mentioned, he entirely fails to see how the workers as a class ever have been, or ever can be, affected by the results of the various struggles for political supremacy which take place periodically between certain sections of the capitalist class. Liberals, Tories and Labour men are alike thundering from their platforms their party cries, "Down with the House of Lords!" "Tariff Reform for ever!" "Long live the Budget!" and so on. Perhaps some of these "leaders of the people" will give us a little information as to whether, for example, the abolition of the House of Lords will change those huddled backed wrecks of humanity, to be seen any night reposing on the Embankment seats, back into men and women; or whether Tariff Reform will stamp out anthrax from among the Bradford wool-combers; or whether even such a munificent measure as "the People's Budget" will enable the people to live as human beings should live rather than to rot and seethe in the hell of modern industrialism.

All over the country at the present moment the workers are listening, open-mouthed and credulous, to the specious promises of Mr. A. and Mr. B. and their lieutenants. Mr. A. is telling us in his usual lawyer-like phraseology, that steps must be taken to see that never again shall the House of Commons be subjected to the indignities to which it has been forced to submit; while the metaphysical Mr. B. is explaining how Tariff Reform is not Protection, but only an attenuated form of Free Trade. In a week or two we members of the working-class will be registering our votes for one or other of our respective candidates. We shall make our choice for many and varied reasons. One of us will vote in a certain way because the candidate has a pretty wife; another because "well, he might do something or other for us if we give the chap another chance." We shall vote for any and every reason except for the one reason that really matters. What a tragic farce it all is! The working-class voters of the country hold in their hands the absolute power to free themselves from the misery and poverty

in which they live and by which they are surrounded. And yet, time after time, election after election, they follow the political will-o'-the-wisps dancing before their eyes, to find themselves at the end sinking deeper in the slough of Capitalism, almost without hope of ever altering their condition.

There may be certain critical 'apologists for Parliamentary procedure, who, on reading the above, will insist that we Socialists have no business to interfere with the freedom of the working class to vote. They will complain, perhaps, that we only listen to Liberal and Tory politicians in order to jeer at them, and that while we are quite at liberty to abstain from voting for any but Socialist candidates, we have no right to attempt to persuade others to do likewise. Well, business or no business, right or no right, we shall continue our tactics, we shall advise our fellow-workers to vote for no one but a Socialist. It is our class—the working class—that in every case puts these charlatans, these sham knights of a gail they have defiled, into political power. That is the irony and the pity of it. Whether—by means of the working class vote, be it remembered—the Liberals or the Tories are returned as a body, the conditions under which the workers exist will not be improved one whit. Unemployment, misery, poverty, intellectual and bodily degradation, will increase year by year whether Mr. A. or Mr. B. is the titular leader of the House of Commons. Not until the workers understand their own position in society and in Nature will there be any chance of an improvement in their condition. Only when this knowledge dawns upon them, when, as a consequence, they join themselves together into a conscious political force to seize political power, in order to use that power in their own interests, will they be enabled, as a result of so doing, to stand erect, free men and free women, reaping and garnering for themselves the world-wide harvest of their mental and physical labour.

F. J. WEBB.

## SCISSORS & PASTE.

When we are doing good work for our class the enemy is loudest in abuse of our conduct. Indeed, the only condition upon which the capitalists will speak well of us is that we cease to do battle with them and so desert our cause. Therefore we take a pardonable pride in the hostility which our propaganda provokes in the ranks of the exploiters, for we know it is the highest compliment they can pay us. This, however, is by no means the attitude of those "respectable and adaptable" citizens, the "Labour" M.P.'s. The ruling class speaks well of them. They are, in fact, so beloved of the Liberal enemy that he will, as far as possible, avoid the calamity (to him) of keeping them out of Parliament.

Thus the *Daily Chronicle* says (18.11.09), "It is interesting to note that in Woolwich and Deptford the Liberals have apparently decided not to put forward a candidate in opposition to Mr. Will Crooks and Mr. C. W. Bowerman."

If, as we understand, Mr. Bowerman will be opposed only by a Tory, or two Tories (there is a split in the opposition camp), there is more than ordinary significance in the letter which Mr. A. J. Pease, chief Liberal Whip, addressed to Sir Henry Havelock Allen. In this letter Mr. Pease suggested, as we stated yesterday, that, 'Liberals should, so far as they could, respect the seats of the Labour Representation Committee's candidates, and the Labour party in return should respect the Liberal seats.'

The *Chronicle* man, as was natural, set out immediately in quest of the other party to this suggested understanding; and tracked the chairman of the Labour group to earth, only to find him as wily as the fabled fox. As the newspaper states:

"Mr. Arthur Henderson, chairman of the Labour party in the House, was seen yesterday by a 'Daily Chronicle' representative, but he explained that, as he had not had time to read Mr. Pease's letter, and was, besides, hurrying off to Portsmouth, he could not express any opinion on the subject."

Of course the chairman of the House of Commons Labour Party "could not express any opinion." Was he going to let the cat out of the bag? "Keep it dark, for goodness sake? Don't make a fuss over it or the game will be up!" was in all probability his muttered comment. And so the game will be up, we may add, when the rank and file understand the game that is being played.

Notice also how the *Chronicle* fawns on such men as Mr. Snowden. This is how it speaks of him in its issue for November 3rd.

### "SOCIALIST MEMBER'S TRIUMPH."

"These three were all good speeches, but they were overtopped by the fourth, Mr. Philip Snowden's. His ascetic face lit up by the light of intellect is a familiar feature on the Labour benches. While he has often spoken effectively in the House he has never before won the triumphant success that he achieved to-night. He is heart and soul for the Budget—not, mark, because it is Socialism, but only because it marks a very moderate step forward on the long road of social amelioration."

"An entranced House listened with every faculty on the stretch as this thoughtful Socialist expounded his creed. On the Government Bench Mr. Asquith sat with eyes fastened on the speaker, and Mr. Balfour, a nearer neighbour, turning round so as to catch every word, was another absorbed listener. The Budget is called revolutionary. It is nothing of the kind, said Mr. Snowden. It is not a revolution but a preventive of revolution. (Loud Liberal cheers.) It means not Socialism but Social Reform. He developed with great ability the distinction between the one thing and the other. In this connection he quoted the definition given by Mr. Balfour in a speech delivered in Birmingham in November, 1907."

Thus does Mr. Snowden proclaim himself the enemy of Socialism. But in order to throw his followers off the scent, he goes on to cunningly confuse capitalist development (which is toward more intense exploitation, and historically makes Socialism necessary while it precedes it) with the development of Socialist society. This dodge enables him to delude the ignorant into believing that he is working for Socialism while in reality he is helping the capitalists. He further says:

"So far from the Budget being a revolution, it is such a slight movement in the wheel as to be almost imperceptible."

Its imperceptibility is evidently its greatest virtue. "He is heart and soul for the Budget" because, apparently, it is not Socialism, and because so far from being akin to revolution, it is its very antithesis!

No wonder that Mr. C. F. G. Masterman, M.P. could say in *The Nation* (24.8.08) that

"The accession of strength came with the realisation of the mildness of the Labour Party. Here were no wild revolutionists, harbingers of an uprising of the lower orders, determined to break up the recognised courtesies and hypocrisies of England's benevolent plutocracy. Instead there was a mixture of old-fashioned trade unionists, with a sprinkling of well behaved and pleasant Socialists; more punctilious about the forms of the House than the oldest members; more eager in making a bargain with the Government and proving themselves agreeable supporters than the most truculent of the Radicals opposite."

Let the toilers ponder this capitalist praise of the Labour Party, and they will find it convincing evidence of the utter worthlessness of Labourism to the working class; evidence, moreover, that is being confirmed by the daily conduct of the Labour members both in and out of the House of Commons. F. C. W.

## BURNLEY BRANCH, S. P. G. B.

### PROPAGANDA MEETINGS.

HELD IN THE  
MARKET PLACE EVERY SUNDAY  
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QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION INVITED.

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS ISSUE.

## REVOLUTION'S REPLY TO REFORM.

The answer to "Arms for the Workers: A Defence of the Programme of the Social-Democratic Party." (E. C. Fairchild, *Lon. Organiser*, S.D.P.)

O.O.

### Something Less than Socialism.

The first objection, says Mr. Fairchild, "to the adoption of a programme of proposals which diminish the evils of capitalism, is the doctrine that anything less than the realisation of complete Socialism would be valueless to the working-class." He goes on to declare that

"The argument that Socialism only can remove the artificial inequalities of today, restore the social produce to the social workers, and abolish all forms of actual poverty is perverted. That argument is held to mean that the condition of the workers is a fixture, and that poverty cannot be diminished under the capitalist state."

This statement is untrue. The so-called impossibilists do not pervert the argument to any such meaning. On the contrary, so far are they from regarding the condition of the workers as a fixture, that they continually point out that it is ever becoming worse—a veritable reform champion himself subscribes to when he says (p. 4) "In all capitalist countries the share of the total wealth production taken by the working class is falling."

The "Social-Democracy," ill-grounded in social science, and, therefore, groping like blind Samson for that which they cannot see, imagine that they have their arms about the pillars of capitalist society when they grasp their "palliative programme." But they cry "palliation" without knowing what palliation is, and think they have palliated the system when they have helped to do that which the system forces the capitalists to undertake in their own interests.

Out of such ignorance as this comes the puerile statement that "the system has been palliated to provide magnificence and great wealth for the few." Magnificence and great wealth for the few, however, were inherent in the system, and not provided by any imaginable "palliation" Mr. Fairchild can instance. And when the term "palliation" can be applied to such opposites as the depression of the multitude in order to "provide magnificence and great wealth for the few," and the wrenching from these few, of the means of lessening the misery of the toiling many, then it behoves us to look to our anchors, lest we drag and drift on to the rocks of lunatic chaos.

What, after all, is a palliative? In sociology, surely, some betterment of the social conditions, given or obtained apart from the decree of economic law and the necessities of the social system.

Thus, trade union effort to advance wages is not palliative effort, but simply the exercise of that power of resistance necessary to arrive at and assert the value of labour power. The law of exchange in accordance with which wages are determined by the cost of production of labour-power, presupposes resistance on both sides of the market. The same resistance between buyer and seller exists in all commodity exchange. It takes the place of that theoretically presumed exact knowledge of values, which no buyer or seller ever yet possessed. The man has not been born who could trace the cost of production (in units of socially necessary labour time) of two commodities through all its intricacies and say of them "in such and such quantities these goods are equivalent values." The question of values must be referred to the competitive market, where the appeal is to force and the only gauge the mean of prices over extended periods.

Similarly, as the struggle for higher wages is not a palliative struggle, since it is a necessary and presupposed part and parcel of the wages system, so there are many measures of a seemingly ameliorative nature, which, since they are necessary to the continued working of the capitalist system itself, are not in any sane sense palliatives.

What possibility, for instance, would there be of the existence in a state of profit-producing efficiency, of several millions of persons within the London area, under the sanitary conditions of the middle ages? In these days when gardens are on the roofs, and tube underlies tube in the bowels of the earth, surface area is far too valuable for open sewers and cesspools. The night-soil man has become an impossible person, and the earth closet an insupportable expense. In addition, black plagues (and consequent scarcity of labour-power) and high profits do not go well together. Capitalism, and not the sentimental tear of the palliator, demanded cheaper and more efficient sanitary arrangements, and that demand was met by, among other things, that "liberal water supply" and "modern drainage" which the S.D.P. champion (pp. 4-5) declares have "modified the original structure of the capitalist system in the interest of the workers." (!) and are, therefore, palliatives.

The poultry farmer who runs ten to twelve hens to the acre need not worry greatly about sanitary arrangements for his stock, but when he multiplies the number of birds by four or five, he immediately has to face and deal with the problem of sanitation. To say, however, that he does so for the hens' sake is ridiculous. Yet it is a parallel case with the claim that modern drainage and the liberal water supply are palliatives of the capitalist system.

They are nothing of the sort. They are necessities of the capitalist system, without which the process of profit production would be hampered at every turn. They are perpetuators, not palliators, of capitalism. Is it imaginable, highly developed capitalist transport, expressed in the latest phrase—motor haulage—on the old feudal bridal paths, or even the roads and bridges that were good enough for our grandfathers' stage-coaches? Is it thinkable, the modern industrial and business world with the illiterate working class of the "hungry forties?"

We all know that the constant wail of representative British manufacturers is that German education has been allowed to get so far in advance of English, and one of their number who recently said "I do not fear Germany's competition, but I fear her technical schools," spoke volumes

as to the motive underlying the educational palliative.

Again, during the last 35 years the birth rate has steadily fallen from 36 to 26, to the horror of the patriotic pulpit and the uneasiness of the exploiting class—who can see only less honey from fewer bees. But with fewer births has come the desire to keep more of the children alive, and so we find "the amenities of the worker's lives" (as our author puts it) by the provision of municipal sterilised milk supplies, maternal training, free meals for school children, and such "palliatives."

The truth is that the gradual development of the productive system demands and necessitates an unceasing adaptation of social conditions, but these are not palliatives of the system, but the mere adjustment to the needs of an industrial machinery whose one motive force is the production of the greatest possible profit. They leave the workers' position untouched. These "amenities of the workers' lives" have not kept pace with their steady degradation. The "liberal water supply" of the water company may not altogether compensate for the loss of the sweet air that moved about the well, nor could the site of the Thames Embankment have been, as a low-lying muddy waste, a picture of more utter and hopeless despair, than now when it offers its proud, granite bosom to be the dreary, comfortless bed of scores upon scores of poor wretches that once were men, and women—and children.

No, Mr. Palliator, the position of the worker is not a fixture. Their exploitation increases, their unemployment increases, their insecurity and anxious misery increases, in spite of those "amenities of the workers' lives," "a liberal water supply, modern drainage, and the extension of public open spaces."

The position of the Socialist Party is, not that the condition of the workers is a fixture, but that it is constantly being adjusted to the requirements of the capitalist system, and that this adjustment is not palliation of working-class conditions. For the working class, they hold, there is no palliation—there is only emancipation. This is why "something less than Socialism" would be valueless to the proletariat.

### The Distribution of Wealth.

In the brief confines of this chapter we are treated to several curious statements. We are told, for instance, that "the productive capacity of labour is subject to continuous change. It will rise or fall with every application of knowledge to industrial functions." This piece of owlish wisdom, of course, flies in the face of all experience, and it would be interesting to learn when the application of knowledge causes the productive capacity of human energy to fall.

In one breath our author declares that the "proportion or amount of the requirements of life which fall to the share of the respective classes" is not "fixed by economic or political laws," and prescribes a political law for the fixing of a minimum wage!

The Socialist Party holds, not that "the proportion or amount of the requirements of life which fall to the share of the respective classes" is fixed by economic or political laws, but that, in capitalist society, the "return to labour" is determined by the cost of producing labour-power.

This is an economic law. It operates through competition. Therefore, if the statement of the law is true, the only way to increase the "return to labour" is either by raising the cost of producing labour-power or by restricting competition.

If the reformer started out to induce the people to "waste their substance in riotous living," to become more drunken and to burn a loaf for every one they ate, he would be derided for his pains, but he would be logical. He would be trying to raise the "return to labour" by increasing the cost of producing labour-power which governs it. But to propose to raise the cost of producing labour by increasing that which it determines (wages in the long run) is madness.

If, on the other hand, the reformer aspired to so completely organise the workers for resistance in the economic field that competition was effectually strangled, again, in spite of the hopeless magnitude of his task, he would be logical. He would be trying to defeat the economic law of exchange by eliminating the mainspring of its operation—competition.

Now the law as stated above is a law of capitalism—not of other social systems. Capitalism presupposes and hangs upon competition. To eliminate competition in the labour market (of all markets is to eliminate capitalism. Hence every force of the existing system is arrayed against any attempt to tamper with the freedom of competition. But our would-be palliators, who say that Labour's share of the wealth produced is not fixed by economic or political laws, are going to tilt against the windmill. They are going to match a political law against an economic law. They are going to set up their Minimum Wage Act against the whole world of masters interested in paying the least possible wages they can, and the whole seething mass of hunger-driven workers, striving for employment at any wage.

Let Mr. Fairchild give us "a little history." Let us have little history now.

The Black Plague in the 14th century made labour-power very scarce. The Statute of Labourers was enacted to prevent the payment or reception of higher wages than had ruled prior to the outbreak. What was the result? Many on both sides were imprisoned, but labour was not made one whit more redundant. Hence the labourers continued to get the best of the competitive struggle, and wages rose 50 or even 100%. So we have it on record that complaint was continually made in Parliament that the Statute of Labourers was utterly inoperative (see "Six Centuries of Work and Wages," Thorold Rogers, p. 226 on).

If wages could not be kept down by law then, when labourers were not free, as they are now, to seek other masters, and when the masters, who controlled the political power, were interested in supporting the law and keeping them down, how much less can the law enforce a minimum wage now, when the masters, controlling the political power, are interested in evading such a law, and the workers themselves are forced by the awful competition for work, to cast every artificial barrier to their degradation into oblivion?

A. E. JACOMB.

To be Continued.



**S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR JANUARY.**

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	2nd.	9th.	16th.	23rd.
Battersea, Prince's Head 11.30	H. Joy	J. Roe	H. Martin	H. Newman
Earlsfield, Magdalene Road 7.30	J. Fitzgerald	H. Newman	D. Fisher	A. Barker
Forest Gate, Sebert Rd. 7.30	J. Kemble	A. Barker	H. Joy	H. Cooper
Finsbury Park 11.30	A. Jacobs	H. King	J. Kennett	A. Jacobs
Kennington Triangle 11.30	A. Anderson	J. Fitzgerald	F. Dawkins	A. Anderson
Manor Park, Earl of Essex 7.30	J. Fitzgerald	H. Newman	H. Joy	H. Martin
Paddington, Prince of Wales 7.30	F. Dawkins	J. Kennett	T. W. Allen	F. Dawkins
Peckham Triangle 11.30	F. C. Watts	P. G. Barker	J. Fitzgerald	T. W. Allen
Stoke Newington, Ridley Rd., Dalston 7.30	H. Newman	D. Fisher	J. Halls	H. Joy
Tooting Broadway 11.30	D. Fisher	R. Fox	A. W. Pearson	R. Kent
Tottenham, West Green Cnr. 7.30	P. G. Barker	A. Barker	H. Cooper	J. Halls
Walthamstow, Hoe-st. Stn. 7.30	H. Joy	T. W. Allen	J. Fitzgerald	F. C. Watts
Wandsworth, Buckhold Road 8.0	T. W. Allen	F. Dawkins	A. Anderson	H. Joy
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill 7.30	A. Anderson	H. Martin	A. W. Pearson	J. Fitzgerald
	P. G. Barker	H. Newman	H. Newman	F. Dawkins
	A. W. Pearson	H. Cooper	A. Barker	H. Martin
	J. Crump	J. Fitzgerald	J. Crump	D. Fisher
			R. Fox	A. Anderson

**MONDAYS.**—Earlsfield, Magdalene Rd., 8.30. Queen's-square, Upton Pk., 8. Islington, Highbury, Cnr., 8.30.**TUESDAYS.**—Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m. Walham Green, Church, 8. Plaistow, Greengate, 8**WEDNESDAYS.**—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Tottenham, St. Ann's Road, 8.30.**THURSDAYS.**—Battersea, Princes Head, 8.0. Earlsfield, Magdalene Road, 8. Tooting Broadway, 8.30.**FRIDAYS.**—Paddington, Prince of Wales, 8.30. Tooting Broadway, 8.30.**SATURDAYS.**—Earlsfield, Magdalene Road, 7 p.m. Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

## RECEIVED—

"Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)  
 "Weekly People" (New York).  
 "Evening Call" (New York).  
 "Gaelic American" (New York).  
 "Western Wage-Earner" (Vancouver, B.C.)  
 "The Flame" (Broken Hill).  
 "Freedom" (London).  
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 "Voice of Labour" (Johannesburg).  
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 Feb. 5th—Debate: "Is the S.P.G.B. the Party of the Workers?"  
 BUDGEON (S.L.P.), FITZGERALD (S.P.G.B.)

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## THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

## OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth and in the interest of the whole community.

## Declaration of Principles

### THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

## HOLDS

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

## APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

To the Secretary,

.....Branch, S.P.G.B. }

I hereby declare my adhesion to the above principles, and request enrolment as a member of The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

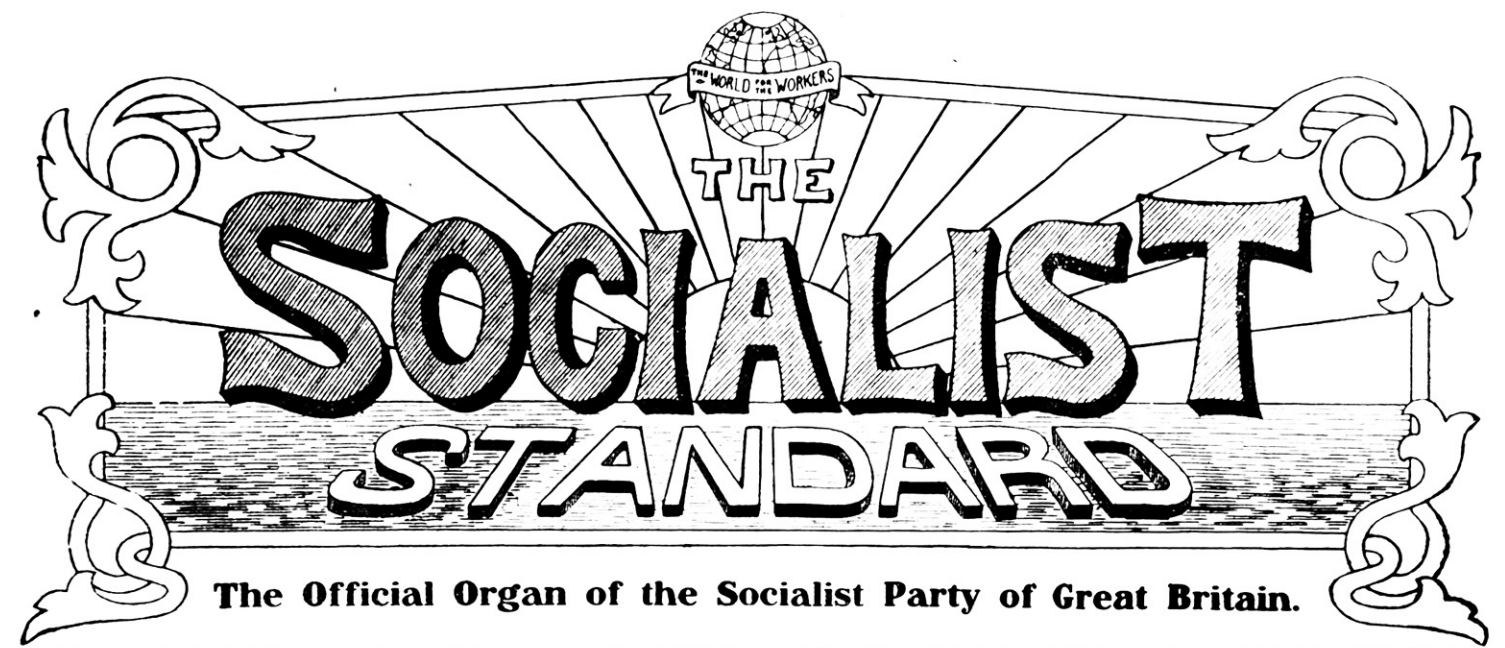
Signature.....

Address.....

.....

Date.....

SPECIAL NOTE.—This form cannot be accepted if detached from Declaration printed above. The complete column must be handed to branch Sec.



No. 66. VOL. 6.]

LONDON, FEBRUARY 1910.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

## SOME ELECTION TRICKS. SOCIAL, DEMOCRATS AND THE ONE-AND-ONE IDEA.

THE capitalists live by exploiting the wage workers. In order to keep that parasitic position and their social supremacy they must keep their control of the political machinery of the nation. The Socialist, then, sees that in order to throw off capitalist exploitation and put an end to poverty in the midst of plenty, the workers must organise their own political party and proceed to the conquest of political power. With such a mission, however, the workers find that in the master class, organised as it is, in the Conservative and Liberal parties, they have an implacable foe, with whom to arrange, compromise or "join hands" is simply to promote confusion and surrender working-class interests. The Social-Democratic Party has, at times and in places, taught this essential Socialist principle. But never in practice has this absurdly self-contradictory body been able to adhere to the principle. Childish hero-worship and a sad lack of the sense of humour have times out of number led it into compromise, defeat and ridicule.

A leaflet issued by the S.D.P. in support of Mr. Hyndman's candidature at Burnley speaks of

"THE FRAUD OF THE POOR MAN'S BUDGET."

while Mr. Quelch says at Northampton that he is prepared to vote for it (although that means helping to provide the master class with their armed forces of repression).

For long past the Social-Democratic organ—*Justice*—of which Mr. Quelch is editor, has described the Labour Party as a wing of the Liberal party and denounced it for compromise. Yet Mr. Quelch, when angling for votes at Northampton, says that he is prepared to receive its whips.

We submit that the following reports from the *Coventry Sentinel* amply establish our contention that the S.D.P. is not a Socialist organisation and has no claim upon the workers' support.

### "STRANGE BEDFELLOWS."

"SOCIAL DEMOCRATS EFFECT AN ARRANGEMENT WITH THE LIBERAL PARTY AT NORTHAMPTON."

"It was the intention of the Social Democratic Party in Northampton to run two candidates for the seats there, but one has been dropped and an ARRANGEMENT WITH THE LIBERAL PARTY is freely and openly admitted. A vote of the S.D.P. executive went in favour, by a very large majority, of running Mr. Gribble, the 'General,' but Mr. H. Quelch insisted on being chosen, and as he has taken a strong hand in the matter, the party has felt obliged to accept him.

"On Friday last a meeting was held in St. George's Schools.

"Councillor Kirton was in the chair. He placed Quelch next to Hyndman. He agreed with a one and one arrangement with the Liberals, and thought they could join hands on the Lords question.

"Mr. Harry Quelch said the Socialist position was plain, and at least one Socialist should be sent to Parliament TO SEE THAT THE LIBERALS DID NO FALTERING, NO LOWERING OF THE FLAG. He hoped Northampton would show what it meant on this occasion very clearly. They were quite willing to join hands with the Liberals on the one-and-one principle. In 1900 they sank all differences and joined against Jingoism. They were not compromising and there must be no humbug.

"Comrade Gribble said Comrade Quelch had been their adopted candidate. There were many in the Liberal party who were desirous of seeing the Socialists represented in Parliament, and among some of the rank and file and some of the leaders there was a feeling that one candidate from each should run. On the other hand, there were some who opposed that view. With the Socialists it was a matter of policy, and policy ruled most things. The Liberals could not get in in Northampton without the help of the Socialists; equally so the Socialists could not succeed without the help of the Liberals. The reason of the Liberals holding the one-and-one view was seen in the steady growth of the Socialist party. He defended Mr. Quelch's position on the Budget, and said it would have been his own. He thought they and the Liberals could join for specific purposes, but Comrade Quelch would fight for the principles of Social Democracy. He proposed the vote of confidence.

"Councillor Pitts seconded on somewhat similar lines. Comrade Quelch, he said, would fight for Social Democracy, though he could join with the Liberals on the House of Lords and Tariff Reform.

"Comrade Gribble was perfectly right when he said neither Liberals nor Socialists could win for themselves. He had expected a three-cornered fight and was DELIGHTED AT THE IDEA OF AN ARRANGEMENT, but he warned the Liberals that if they did not act fairly there would never be any thought of an arrangement again. They had chosen Quelch, they should run Quelch, and if the Liberals refused to run Quelch in Northampton, well, they would fight them.

"The vote was carried without dissent. A further meeting was held in the Town Hall on Monday night, at which Mr. Jas. Gribble presided.

"The Chairman regretted that there was any misconception of the objects of Mr. Quelch and the Social Democratic Party as a whole.

Whether there were two Liberals and two Socialists, or one Socialist and one Radical—which he personally hoped would be the position—(applause)—Northampton would make a big mistake if it did not return Comrade Quelch. (Applause.)

"Comrade Quelch said if the Liberals wanted unity in their fight against the Lords, then it was for them to show their bona fides. 'LET THEM SAY: "WE ARE PREPARED TO UNITE." If the Liberals mean what they say, let them do their best to secure that there shall be at least one Socialist returned at the forthcoming election.' (Applause.)

"At question time, Mr. Griffin asked: 'Are you as a party willing to support the Radical party, if they as a party are willing to support you as a party?'

"Comrade Quelch: That appears to me TO GO WITHOUT SAYING. (Applause.) There is not a question, it seems to me, which the Radical party can advance for immediate practical politics on which we should not be prepared to co-operate with them in securing for the people all that they offer, and still asking for more. (Applause.)

"A third question drew the response: 'If we can get nothing better than the Budget, I shall vote for the Budget.'

"A further query elicited the statement that there was no pledge in the S.D.P. to prevent a man voting for Mr. Lee-Smith if he chose at the election. Mr. Quelch also declared that he was on perfect terms of friendship with the Labour party, and WAS PREPARED, if he got into the House, TO RECEIVE THEIR WHIPS.

"Mr. W.R. Johnson moved the resolution of confidence in the candidate.

"Mr. Slinn seconded the resolution, and it was supported in a vigorous and powerful speech by Comrade Herbert Burrows, Socialist Candidate for Haggerston. 'Down with the Lords and up with the people' was their motto, he declared, and he expressed the pleasure it would give him to see the whole 600 Lords as navvies, with wheelbarrows, on a nine-inch plank. (Laughter.) The resolution was carried with only three dissentients."—*Coventry Sentinel*, 18.12.09.

### "SOCIAL DEMOCRATS JILTED."

"THE 'ONE-AND-ONE' IDEA SQUASHED."

"The Northampton Social Democratic party continued the Parliamentary election campaign at the Kettering-road Schools on Friday night. In the absence of Mr. W. B. Johnson, Mr. W. F. Moss presided.

"Mr. Moss said since the Town Hall meeting things political had undergone a change in



Northampton. The Liberals had decided to run two candidates—a course which FORCED THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS TO DO THE SAME, and run both Comrade Quelch and Comrade Gribble. In a measure he thought it would make for the betterment of the S.D.P. From now they went forward, not merely as wreckers of other parties, but to win the fight. What had happened had proved again that the Liberals could not be trusted; some of them never thought they could. Now the S.D.P. fought both capitalist parties.

“Mr. H. Quelch started by averring that what had happened had not given him any disappointment, annoyance, surprise or chagrin. It was precisely what he had expected—what he had expected from the very moment of his adoption. He congratulated the Liberals for taking their courage in both hands, and following the advice of the Tory Press, local and national. It only proved that the Liberals and Tories were but the wings of one party. The Tories denounced them for daring to consider any arrangement, and their advice had gone home. Personally, he never expected that the Liberals would keep their word, and on the whole he was delighted at what had happened, resulting in so stalwart a colleague as Gribble. The cry that if the Social Democrats had only run Gribble the Radicals would have been content was insincere; if they had done that the Radicals would have said if you would but run Quelch, or someone else! The S.D.P. had not invited the union; they did not mind that it was not coming off.

“Mr. J. Gribble next spoke. He regretted that his candidature had been necessary, for he hoped the ‘one-and-one’ theory would have been adopted. It was now said the Liberals wanted a man to win. Well, on what hypothesis did they base the idea that he could win and Quelch could not? Even now, IF THE LIBERALS WOULD BE HONEST AND ACCEPT QUELCH AS THE CANDIDATE OF THE S.D.P. AND ONLY RUN ONE, HE WAS PREPARED AND SHOULD BE DELIGHTED TO STAND DOWN. The reasons for his being more with the Liberal party than usual in the Town Council was simply due to the fact that the Conservatives were in power.

“Mr. G. S. Whiting wanted to know why, if the S.D.P. regarded Liberals and Tories as identical, they wished to have a coalition with the Radicals?—Mr. Quelch denied that the Social Democrats asked for coalition; they were ready to join hands.

“Mr. Terrett said no coalition was ever intended; it was simply a policy for the election that would have helped both. It was said that whom the Fates sought to destroy they first rendered mad. It was a mad act to bring the second candidate to Northampton, and meant certain damnation. Did the Liberals think they would get the Socialists, after what had happened, to vote for their two ‘duffing’ Radical candidates? THERE WOULD NEVER, IF HE KNEW IT, BE ANY OVERTURES AGAIN.

“The confidence vote was carried with six dissentients.”—*Coventry Sentinel*, 25.12.09.

(The capitals and italics in the body of these articles are ours.—Ed. “S.S.”)

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## MANIFESTO

OF THE

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## WHO SUPPLIES THE BRAINS?

MANKIND is prone to many errors. When, for instance, one mistake has been discovered and the error removed, many men fancy they have rid themselves of all wrong notions. Those people who, because they have abandoned certain religious superstitions, are fond of calling themselves Freethinkers, often imagine they have banished superstition from their minds altogether. Vain delusion. The bulk of the so-called Freethinkers, including their leading propagandists (such as C. Bradlaugh, G. W. Foote and J. M. Robertson) still accept and repeat the wholly unsupported assertion of the parson Malthus, that the cause of poverty is over-population. In spite of the example of Ireland, which, under their very eyes, has had its population steadily decreasing during the last 50 years, yet the misery of its working class continuing, they reiterate the same old superstition like the parsons they so often condemn.

Last November Mr. J. M. Robertson wrote a series of articles in the *Manchester Evening News* illustrating the above truth in another direction. The articles were entitled “Capital, Brains and Labour.” Here the foremost place is given, not to reason, knowledge or even brains, but, to capital!

The Jews of old worshipped the golden calf, the modern “Freethinker” worships instruments of production! Both worshipping inert, insensate things, the difference in merit is nil.

The articles opened by stating that two war cries are now being used. The first, “All wealth is the product of labour”; the other, “All labour is maintained by capital.” The first formula is the standing maxim of the Socialist platform, the second has been propounded by Lord Rosebery.

We are then told that “the first criticism they suggest is that neither shows any concern for precision of statement, and that neither, therefore, aims at telling the whole truth.”

Socialist and Conservative are wrong. Liberalism alone is God and J. M. Robertson its prophet. Therefore we shall get precision of statement and whole truths from the prophet—if such things there be.

We are told that “capital” and “labour” mean “in the broad general sense, ‘the capital of the capitalists’ and ‘the labour of the labourers.’”

What is a “capitalist,” and what is a “labourer”? No answer.

Then “a very little reflection will serve to show that . . . all existing wealth arises out of previous wealth, and so on back through ages.”

Where then, did the first portion arise? What is wealth? How is it produced? Still no answer. The believer may begin to ask the prophet when we are going to get his precision of statement and whole truth; but he will ask in vain. Confusion of working-class mind, not precision of statement, is Mr. Robertson's object.

So we will fill the gap ourselves.

Wealth is the general term for all those things that minister to man's wants and desires in various ways throughout society. When analysed this wealth is seen to consist of two elements—the material provided by Nature, changed in form and position by the application of human energy. The assistance given by the forces of nature, as the expansive power of steam and gases, the mysterious force of electricity, etc., does not alter the truth of this statement, as human energy is required to control and direct these forces, and without this direction and control the application of these forces is impossible.

Who produces this wealth, or in other words, who applies the energy necessary to convert the Nature-given materials to man's use?

The miner digs the coal and ore, the navy cuts the canals and lays the railways and roads; the agricultural labourer ploughs the fields, sows and reaps the crops; the building operative erects the mills, factories and works necessary for wealth production; the railwayman and carman transport the goods to the various places requiring them. In other words it is the members of the working class—and they alone—who perform all the operations necessary in the production and distribution of wealth.

What of “previous existing wealth” given by

the prophet? Economically considered the statement is sheer piffle. Wealth, and the instruments used in its production, must be continually re-created to continue in existence; and in one of his unguarded moments Mr. Robertson admits this when he says: “obviously labour in general is creating capital faster than it draws subsistence from it.” What we owe to the past are the various discoveries and accumulations of knowledge that have reached us, which we amplify and utilise with the knowledge gained to-day.

But, it may be objected, is not the capitalist a worker? Doesn't he apply his energy in the production of wealth? As shown above, our answer is emphatically no! And Mr. Robertson is in quite a fog over it, for he remarks: “And, say the Socialists, it is the toil of the mass that provides all things for the labour-consuming rich. If they added ‘The skill of the organiser, using the fluid capital of the rich,’ they would be right.”

If the skilled organiser uses the “fluid” capital of the rich, evidently he is not the capitalist, or he would be using his own capital. Obviously also, the skilled organiser is not rich as he uses the capital of the rich. And who uses the “solid” or “fixed” capital of the rich? Even our prophet had some glimmering that this was a fatal admission on his part, for in another article he says: “Often the organiser becomes a capitalist-in-chief, in virtue of his primary indispensableness.” Unfortunately, this is no help to him, as the fact of an individual occasionally rising from organiser to capitalist still leaves the bulk of capitalists as non-organisers, and therefore obtaining their wealth without doing anything useful in its production.

In this, as in so many other things, Marx has, as it were, met his opponents by anticipation, for on page 322 of “Capital” he says:

“Just as at first the capitalist is relieved from actual labour so soon as his capital has reached that minimum amount with which capitalist production, as such, begins, so now, he hands over the work of direct and constant supervision of the individual workman, and groups of workmen, to a special kind of wage-labourer.”

Obviously then, the organiser is a member of the working class, though occasionally a well paid one. Then all wealth existing is due to the efforts of the working class applied in various directions. If any section or individual owns wealth without performing any of the operations necessary for its production, it is clear as crystal that they must have obtained it from those who did produce. In other words they must have robbed the workers. And it matters little whether this was done directly or indirectly, legally or illegally, as far as the result is concerned.

What is capital? Marx alone has given the correct definition, which, in non-technical language, is, “Wealth used for the purpose of obtaining a profit.” When the capitalist amuses himself by pretending to “manage” his business he always takes care to make that “management” a charge on the business independently of his profits. Whatever industry he invests his capital in, he not only expects to get a certain “surplus” or “interest” every year, but at the end of a given period—say twenty years—he still wants his capital intact, despite the fact that it has been “used” during that time. He thus requires that the workers shall provide not only their own subsistence and his profits, but shall also re-create or replace his capital at the end of a given period.

Anyone who has the slightest acquaintance with business methods—with the exception, perhaps, of the shining lights of Liberalism—is well aware of the truth of these statements which prove the Socialist contention that the working class produces all the wealth, whether it take the form of capital, interest, rent, profit or wages, and supplies the brains and labour-power necessary for its production.

An attempt at an explanation of the growing discontent of the working class is as follows:

“It is because the modern captains of industry have never contrived to give their veterans either steady subsistence during their fighting years or security for old age that their legions are in large and growing measure distrustful, semi hostile, disparaging towards their captains,

and bent on provoking some system which shall provide for the mass collectively some such security of comfort as the captain takes to be his sure heritage.”

What a glorious ideal! To remain nice, good, contented wage-slaves with a “security of comfort” as the highest goal after having kept the ruling class in idleness and luxury. Then comes the following mystic question:

“From which class may a deeper insight be most fully demanded? From which might a wise law-giver most reasonably demand patience and magnanimity? On one or the other side these qualities must be evolved if the problem of modern civilisation is to be any better solved than that of antiquity.”

Note the admission that there are two classes,—obviously in opposition since we are asked from which might be demanded “patience and magnanimity.” Seeing that various religions and ethical systems have preached this for centuries, with no effect upon any of the ruling classes (else the problem would not now have arisen); seeing also that the articles were specially written for working men, the deduction is obviously that it is the working class who are asked to practice this “patience and magnanimity” toward those who live by robbing them. And this is proved a little further on when Mr. Robertson says:

“What is needed to save the cause of progress is a coalition between all the friends of just taxation, all of the masters who care alike for economic science and for the elevation of their workers, and all of the workers who can discern between practicable evolution and the planning of Utopias on paper.”

In what way does taxation affect the working class? In none at all. It being necessary for the capitalist to obtain his wage slaves at a certain standard of efficiency, he must, on the average, give to the workers out of the wealth they have produced, sufficient to keep them at the required standard. For purely business reasons the capitalist is bound to do this. Out of the surplus, taken by the capitalist class, must be paid the expenses, under the name of taxes, of maintaining this system. Important to the capitalist, but to the worker a matter of indifference, is taxation.

And it is the masters who are to “care for economic science.” Why not the workers as well? Because a knowledge even of the simple elements of wealth production given above would show the workers clearly how they are robbed. In furtherance of the object of keeping the workers ignorant we are told:

“Even as the rich man so often fails to see that he is but as another man with wealth added, the worker often fails to see that he is but a man without wealth, with the passions, illusions, and endless fallibilities of the natural man of all ages.”

What is the “natural man of all ages”? A religious superstition—a myth. Man has evolved, and in different ages has had different powers and degrees of faculties, as even Mr. Robertson might have known. But granting the worker has “passions” and “endless fallibilities,” how can this be twisted into a defence of the capitalist's robbery of the worker? Only by spreading the “illusions,” with which the “Freethinkers” are saturated, that “capital” is a holy mystery the worker can never understand, and therefore must never offend against; that “progress” is a mystic power that only the capitalist and his agents, masquerading as politicians and sociologists, can propitiate; and that therefore the worker must leave everything to these medicine men of modern times, or disaster will follow. Such is a sample of the superiority of the intellectual professional person over the “common workman.”

“The Problem of Unemployment” has an article to itself full of vague statements and inaccurate history. It is admitted that: “it is quite clear that unemployment is a standing feature in the industrial life,” though no reason or cause for its existence is given, except a very vague reference to “over-population.” The Socialist explanation and criticism of this problem is not even mentioned, let alone met, by this genius. He supplies us with a splendid remedy—“That true remedy is to be found only

on the lines of a national provision of insurance, on the lines latterly laid down by the Government”—though we are warned “that labour legislation is to be gone about not less but more circumspectly than any other.” Evidently this is a warning to those fiery, impatient Liberals who rushed forward to give the workers Old Age (very old age) Pensions—thirty years after they are dead.

Failing to find any fact or argument in the circumstances around us, to meet the Socialist's case, our seeker for the “whole truth” invents some. We are told, for instance, that: “The theory that employers in general are to be driven forward by exasperating blows, and that there is no other way of advancing,” is now “discredited by history” (!) while only just previously he had said the workers knew well that “The certainty that every advance had to be extorted is the basis of every effort to force an advance and to resist a decrease.” Beautiful precision of statements that in a few lines flatly contradict each other.

A still more striking example may be taken from the article entitled: “The Evolution of Capitalism”:

“It is some sixty years since there emerged in politics, at the hands of Marx and Engels, the conception of capitalistic production as proceeding inevitably to an irretrievable overthrow, in which society would be violently disrupted, whereafter a new and better system would promptly be raised upon its ruins.”

The growing misery of the working class is referred to and then we are told that:

“The course of events has callously falsified this theory of social destiny. Framed before the biological laws of evolution had been established, it presents the Hegelian view of development as operated by or in an ‘idea’ or abstract momentum, in which the adaptations of historic life count for nothing.”

To see a development operating “by or in an ‘idea’ or abstract momentum” would be beyond the powers of the old prophets who claimed to converse with angels. So it is left for the new “freethinking” prophet to present a tissue of absurdities exceeding the Apocalypse.

The whole statement is so curiously akin to that of Ramsay MacDonald in “Socialism and Society” that we can only suppose membership of both in the Liberal party has furnished them with the same arguments (!) in almost the same words. The dangerously weak point in these inventions, however, is that the working class are beginning to read Marx and Engels themselves in increasing numbers year by year. Then they find that, so far from being a Hegelian, Marx has pointed out in the preface to “Capital” that, thirty years before the latter volume was written, he had criticised and opposed Hegelianism from the materialist standpoint. Also that in the preface to the “Critique of Political Economy” (p. 12) published in 1859, Marx says:

“At a certain stage of their development the material forces of production in society come in conflict with the existing relations of production. . . . From forms of development of the forces of production these relations turn into their fetters. Then comes the period of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundations the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. . . . No social order ever disappears before all the productive forces, for which there is room in it, have been developed; and new higher relations never appear before the material conditions of their existence have matured in the womb of society.”

Do these statements contradict the “biological law of evolution”??

Leaving aside the fact well known to every school-boy, though not yet discovered by Mr. Robertson, that not only Goethe and Wolff, but particularly Lamarck, in 1809, and Geoffroy St. Hilaire, in 1830, had laid down and defended the development theory, let us take the words of an eminent modern biologist—no less a one than the son of Charles Darwin.

“The physicist, like the biologist and historian, watches the effect of slowly varying external conditions; he sees the quality of persistence or stability gradually decaying until it vanishes,

when there ensues what is called, in politics, a revolution.

“These considerations had led me to express a doubt whether biologists have been correct in looking for continuous transformation of species. Judging by analogy we should rather expect to find slight continuous changes occurring during a long period of time, followed by a somewhat sudden transformation into a new species, or by a rapid extinction.”—Professor G. H. Darwin in Presidential Address before the British Assn for the Advancement of Science, South Africa 1905.

Startling is the fact here brought to light for we see modern physicists and biologists applying in their particular spheres, the theory of evolution Marx laid down for societies in 1859. Magnificent indeed is the vindication of Marx's position, and complete the refutation of shallow agents of the capitalist class, like Robertson and McDonald.

Moreover, in the article entitled: “The Ideal of Equality” Robertson says: “Economic pressure alone sufficed to substitute, first serf labour for absolute slave labour, and later, hired labour for that of serfs.” Which is just the position Marx was the first to demonstrate.

Lack of space prevents us dealing with all the absurdities and misstatements made in these articles; indeed, we should require at least the same space as the articles themselves to meet all the points. So one more example of the contradictions must close our quotations. In the fifth article it is said:

“It would probably be difficult to find anywhere a Socialist who has anything but the most nebulous notion of how the existing world of competitive production is to transform into the ideal world of his theory.”

Yet when he comes to state his own miserable “remedy” of State Insurance he is obliged to say: “I do not profess to elaborate such a scheme, the realisation of which is far off”—for which we may be thankful.

The articles were a tricky but shallow attempt to draw the workers' attention away from the only thing that will solve the problems of poverty, unemployment and misery, viz., Socialism, and to lead them again into the Liberal rut. Both Liberal and Tory recognise that they are beginning to lose their old influence over the minds of the working class. Hence these articles; hence Tariff Reform agitation. Let the working class study Socialism, read Marx and Engels in their scanty leisure, and then the days of capitalism and its trained tricksters will be over.

J. FITZGERALD.

## NOTE!

We are asked to announce that the meetings held under the auspices of the Islington Branch on Thursday evenings at the Co-operative Hall, 144, Seven Sisters Road, N., will be continued during February.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

### RECEIVED—

“Western Clarion” (Vancouver, B.C.)  
“Weekly People” (New York).  
“Evening Call” (New York).  
“Gaelic American” (New York).  
“Western Wage-Earner” (Vancouver, B.C.)  
“The Flame” (Broken Hill).  
“Freedom” (London).  
“Anglo Russian” (London).  
“Voice of Labour” (Johannesburg).  
“The International” (London).  
“Civil Service Socialist” (London).

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## The Socialist Standard,



TUESDAY, FEB. 1, 1910.

## After the Election.

THE General Election is over, and once again the workers have placed the powers of the State within the anxious grasp of the master class. Deluded by the Babel of lies and false issues, the hirelings have again embraced the yoke of wage-slavery. Some voted Liberal—or Labour (same thing)—to keep the "food-tax" out, while others voted Tory to keep the "Foreigner" out; between them they succeeded in keeping those grand old institutions, the British Empire and the workhouse.

Amongst Labourites and pseudo-Socialists, compromise and election dodgery have been well to the fore, as indeed was inevitable. We give elsewhere some instances of the game and there are more to follow. The ludicrous posture of the Social-Democratic Party consequent upon the contemptuous rejection of its overtures for alliance ("joining hands," they call it) by the Liberals, have disgusted many of its members, while the pandering to ignorance and the, for the time being, popular, which marked the utterances of its candidates and their prominent supporters, evidently had, in many cases, the opposite effect to that intended. Its own members were dismayed and it polled badly. The "hysterical error of judgment" to which we draw attention under "Election Notes," can have no other meaning. And withal the utter failure of the time-honoured S.D.P. policy even as regards electoral support should go far to convince erstwhile adherents of that organisation of its impotence for ought else than confusion and injury to the cause of Socialism. We fear that after this the good old S.D.P. may not very long survive to "see that the Liberals do not lower the flag" the Union Jack of old England, we presume (happily there are still papa Blatchford and the Boy Scouts).

Also the Labour Party has but slight ground for congratulation, for, as the "Labour Leader" has it, "it has lost proportionately most heavily." The protecting partner, the Liberal Party, has lost ground and with it its protegee.

The hypocritical pretence of independence is to-day seen through by many who helped form the Labour Party, and so the ground is being cleared for the growth of the genuine Socialist Party—the party of revolution.

The S.P.G.B. has made its influence widely felt during the election by distributing its "Election Manifesto" in different districts over the country. From widely separated constituencies comes the gratifying news that its recommendation to abstain from voting—because there were no Socialist candidates in the field—has been followed; the voting papers being "spoiled" by having "Socialism" written across them. Our action has been well appreciated, and will redound to the strength of the Party. Let those who know the day must come when we shall be in a position to put Socialist candidates in the field now join the Socialist Party of Great Britain, for that is the way of success and emancipation.

## For Socialism and Labour.

Time was when Thorne was widely known as "honest Bill Thorne"; then Quelch had to cover his mendacity by ascribing it to "blundering" Bill Thorne. This, of course, was progress. Under such tutelage Thorne improved rapidly. He learnt to exploit his "honesty" until now it would be a mark of graceless disrespect to neglect to place the word in inverted commas. As witness: On January 19th, at a public meeting held by Thorne at Silvertown in furtherance of his Parliamentary candidature, he was asked questions by one of our comrades. Mr. Thorne replied, distinctly and definitely, that he was NOT standing as a Socialist. (Will the capitalist Press, particularly *Justice*, the *Labour Leader* and the *Clarion*, who are so fond of crediting the Socialists with one representative in the House please note. Bill and his "honesty" do not belong to us: they are not our brand.) This was honest, of course. Perhaps it was not the less honest because it happened to be expedient. It certainly served the useful purpose of, in a measure, discounting certain awkward questions. Bill's "honesty" fairly took him by the hand on this occasion, and led him like a little child along the path of truth. He declared he knew the party his questioner belonged to; he admitted gratuitously that that party is a scientific Socialist party; he openly avowed that he could not touch our position anywhere—and that was why he refused our comrade the platform in opposition. Bill doesn't blunder now, and it would have been the grossest of blunders to have let our man put the Socialist position to the workers of Silvertown—it is so different to what Bill stood for.

The scene is changed. West Ham has polled. For five hours a great crowd of stalwarts have been waiting outside the Town Hall, under the sheltering shade of the red flag. Heart-hungry they have waited so long to learn if they have worked and won; to know if the cause of Socialism had triumphed in the return by voters who didn't believe in it of the man who didn't stand for it. Presently the man who stood for £6 a week came on to the balcony and amidst a tumult of ecstasy said: "Comrades and Friends, we in South West Ham have won a great victory for Socialism and Labour."

## TOTTENHAM BRANCH REPORT.

It is now some time since a report of the work of the above branch appeared in these columns, nevertheless we have been carrying on our propaganda consistently and with great success. All our outdoor meetings have been well attended and our literature sales have steadily increased. Although at the time of writing there is still another fortnight to go before the month closes, we have already sold 325 copies of the January issue of the SOCIALIST STANDARD. As evidence of the fact that our audiences appreciate our efforts on behalf of the working class, and that they desire to see our Socialist propaganda made even more effective, we mention that during last year we received over £21 from street-corner collections. Last year saw us depart from what had become an annual event, namely, the holding of a Christmas morning meeting. We made amends for this, however, the following day (Sunday), when we held two very large and successful meetings. Comrade Anderson, who was the speaker upon both occasions, appealed for a special collection, with the result that we were enabled to send a donation of £1 10s. to the Party Organ Guarantee Fund.

During the last quarter we were suddenly and quite unexpectedly reminded that a Branch of the S.D.P. existed in Tottenham. This was brought to our notice by a person, claiming to be a member of that particular branch, going about spreading the tale that we had on one occasion been challenged by them to debate, but had "funked it." We were not aware of having received such a challenge, but to make doubly sure, our secretary went through the filed correspondence. As we expected, nothing could be found showing that anything in the nature of a challenge had ever been received from them. We then wrote telling them of the

false statement which their "comrade" had been circulating, and asking if they were prepared to substantiate it. Knowing full well, however, that they would be unable to do this, and being anxious that they should be given an opportunity of meeting a representative of ours in public debate, we issued a challenge to them. It proved to be an intelligent anticipation on our part, for, though offering an excuse for not accepting our challenge, they failed to send any evidence that we had ever refused one from them. This resulted in a further communication from us and another challenge, but we are still awaiting a reply.

Having failed, as just related, to fix up a debate with one defender of capitalism, it was thought advisable to try another. Some of us therefore attended a meeting held on behalf of Mr. Sturdy, the Conservative candidate for this district. After listening as attentively as was possible in the circumstances, one of the comrades addressed a note to the chairman asking to be allowed the platform in opposition, or failing that would any of the gentlemen on the platform be willing to meet a representative of the S.P.G.B. in public debate. An inquest was held on the note, but the verdict was not made public. What it was we can pretty well guess.

Although somewhat disappointed that our second attempt should prove unsuccessful, we nevertheless pegged away, and tried a third. This time it was Mr. P. Alden, retiring member and candidate for the Tottenham Division, who was challenged. One of the comrades who was present at a meeting of Mr. Alden's, held at the Municipal Hall on Jan. 4th, took advantage of the opportunity when the chairman announced that all questions must be in writing, and asked if Mr. Alden was prepared to defend the Liberal Party against a representative of the S.P.G.B. in public debate. The reply gladdened our hearts, for the challenge was accepted. Mr. Alden has since been written to and asked to proceed with the arrangements, and he has replied that he will keep his promise after the elections, and that he thinks the arrangements might be made later on. We are now anxiously waiting for the elections to finish so that we can fix upon the date and place of debate. Announcements will be made as soon as details are settled.

It is perhaps worth mentioning that Mr. Sturdy, the Conservative, has again been challenged, but no reply has yet been received.

A meeting of the North London Educational Class is being held every Friday evening at the Tottenham Central Club, 366, High Road, Tottenham, and those comrades in North London who have not yet made a point of attending are earnestly requested to do so. Already there are signs that the classes have been a great benefit to those who have attended, and there is every prospect that when the spring comes round there will be a number of comrades sufficiently well equipped to be able to take the platform of the Socialist Party to continue the good work so well begun.

J. T. B.

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CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS ISSUE.

## REVOLUTION'S REPLY TO REFORM.

The answer to "Arms for the Workers: A Defence of the Programme of the Social-Democratic Party." (E. C. Fairchild, Lon. Organiser, S.D.P.)

Those who talk so glibly of Minimum Wage enactments cannot, surely, have paid due attention to the manifold ramifications of the competitive mainspring of capitalist production. Even if such an act could, in spite of all the powers against it, be carried into effect, still the be all and end all of capitalist production—profit—would not consent to defeat.

Stronger than Parliaments and the laws of Parliaments, are the colossal armed forces of nations in the hands of Parliaments, are the economic laws. So, if political law affects to limit the degradation of wages, the economic law of machinery under capitalism comes into operation and restores the degree of exploitation.

The law may be stated thus: Every increase in the cost of labour-power tends to the increase and development of machinery.

Many who are not ignorant of this law refuse to accept it because they do not thoroughly grasp its meaning. They argue that Necessity is not so much the mother of Invention that every need of the capitalist class is at once productive of the inventive genius to satisfy it. But such an argument shows a wrong interpretation of the law.

Machinery exists and plays its part in every productive field. But it is in no trade or industry of even perfection throughout. Its development at any given date is a matter of innumerable gradations and degrees. To take an example—the newspaper printing trade. Not every newspaper is printed on the latest "Hoe" machine flashing off 40,000 copies folded and counted in an hour. From this the means in use tail away, through numberless shades of backwardness, into comparative antiquity. But everywhere the means are being used which the individual proprietor judges are most profitable to him, in his circumstances. Thus though the latest "Hoe" marvel is of undoubted value, the machine of fifty years ago still clanks on its way to the scrap-heap.

Each improvement in machinery may be likened to the effect of a stone thrown into a lake. Its circle of profitability gradually enlarges with time while the degree of its profitability decreases until it has become too obsolete to yield profit to anyone. In one circle the invention of the hour is eagerly seized upon, in another circle the means of yesterday are most profitable, while yet a third circle of exploiters are limited to the machinery of five years ago, and so on. And everywhere there are owners debating with themselves the question of whether it would pay them to throw out certain machinery and replace it with something more up-to-date.

Now—to revert to our example—what will be the result of an increase in the cost of labour-power in the case of the newspaper printing trade? Wages having advanced, the arguments in favour of the further adoption of wage-saving machinery are at once increased. The waverers become decided and the fringe of doubt takes a larger circumference. Each stage of perfection in machinery experiences a rapid extension of its sphere of profitable exploitation, and throughout the whole industry, without the aid of a single new invention, machine development takes a step forward. At the same time at the top of the tree the capitalists are more receptive of new inventions, while at the bottom those who have been struggling to hold their own with antiquated means, are plunged into ruin by the fresh handicap of dearer labour-power, their machines find their way to the scrap-heap, and the work which those machines had been doing with extravagant expenditure of labour-power, is transferred to more economic machinery, to the enhancement of the army of out-of-work.

Thus together with the introduction of improved machinery we get displacement of workers and an increased army of unemployed to struggle against any artificial restriction of wages, to defy every penalty with which the most sincere advocates can hedge about the Minimum Wage or any other limitation of the starving multitude's liberty to compete for work at any price.

It is a fruitless argument to say that the advance of wages demanded by such a "palliative" as the Minimum Wage would be too small to have this general effect. Such a claim cuts against its user, for a reform does not become more worthy on account of insignificance. Moreover, the measure of its extent is the measure of its effect.

And in those trades in which such an Act would most apply—the so-called sweated industries (as if there are any industries which are not sweated); the industries which lend themselves to being carried on in the homes of the workers—the law of machine development would operate with two-fold force. In such fields machinery and the factory system are only kept at bay because labour-power is so terribly cheap. Yet, awful as it appears to say it, any legislative attempt to raise the wages of these poor creatures can only, as far as it is effective at all, result in handicapping them against their merciless competitor, machinery.

In a later section Mr. Fairchild talks of initiating measures to deal with the consequences of the "initial proposals." The consequences of the "introduction of a law of minimum wage," supposing that it could be effectually enforced, will be the extension of machinery and increased unemployment. When our reformer convinces us that he has a measure capable of dealing with this obliterating "consequence" it will be time enough to agree with him that the share of the total wealth production taken by the working class can be caused to rise by wage legislation.

## The Position of the Working Class.

In the next four sections our author abandons all serious effort to deal with his subject, and indulges in a little quiet fun at the expense of his readers. He tells us, for instance, that "we do not know the things we cannot see." The blind man, then, doesn't know when he is hungry. Can it be also, that our reformer knows nothing of economic laws because he cannot see them? Then an exuberance of spirits leads our opponent

to have a fling at those who argue "that the enactment of the palliative proposals retards the realisation of Socialism. And this is how he proves his case:

The outcast may complain in whining minor tones while he stands shivering on the wind-swept Embankment, but a basin of soup, shared with cabinet ministers in court dress, is enough to make him suspend criticism of the social system.

He gets a good hold and swings his opponent clean off his feet, yet when the fall is consummated our S.D.P. champion is underneath. For the starving wretch at least complained until they shut his mouth with the palliative basin of soup, after which the social system was above criticism and, presumably, Socialism was retarded.

But the greatest joke of all is that Mr. Fairchild deludes his readers with the section heading "The Position of the Working Class," and then fails to give them any information upon the subject. As a proper understanding of the position of the working class is essential to the intelligent consideration of the "palliative" question, the omission must be rectified.

The working class is the class which works for wages. Wages represent food, clothing and shelter, therefore, it may be said that the working class is the class which works for food, clothing and shelter. To give this definition is to imply that there is a class which does not work for these things. Now as a man may not always be able to work, while he must always have the necessities of life or he must die, it is obviously of advantage to him that work, and food, clothing and shelter should not hang together, in other words that his living should not depend upon his working.

While it is true that man, as a natural order, cannot live without labour, that very truth tells us that if one class does not work for its living, it must subsist upon the product of the class which does work. So we get the first two conditions of the working-class position—it is the class which works for its own living in the first place; it is the class which works for the living of the non-working class in the second place. What is the reason of this double disadvantage?

If it is disadvantageous for a man's livelihood to depend upon his working it is doubly so for him to have to labour to support others. Why does the worker do it, then? Why, in the first place, does he not do as the non-worker does—live without labour? Why, in the second place, does he not produce food, clothing and shelter for himself alone? Why, in the third place, does not the non-worker do the same as the member of the working class—work for his living?

Those things which we indicate by the term livelihood, all come in the category "economic wealth." Wealth (we must be understood to use the term in the economic sense) is natural objects which have been changed in form or rendered accessible to man by the expenditure of human labour-power. The fish of the sea is not wealth until it is caught—it is not caught without labour. Therefore the two essentials in wealth production are the natural objects and human labour-power.

No man or class, then, can produce wealth without command of or access to these two factors. Have the workers this access to the means of wealth production? We know that (save through permission) they have not, for though they have one essential—labour-power—the source of the other essential—the natural object—is the land (or water) and the land belongs to others. We find the answer to our second question first. The working class cannot produce wealth except upon terms, because the land and what are quite as necessary to the process in these days—the machinery of production and distribution, are held by a class.

We now learn concerning the position of the working class, that it is one of subservience to the class which holds the means of life; and this further—that as the question of the terms upon which the workers can get access to the means of production must be referred to continuous struggle, their position must necessarily be one of opposite interests to that of the possessing class, and therefore of antagonism. In other words, their position is clearly that of one party to a class struggle, which must continue as long as there are opposing class interests, as long as one class stand between another class and their means of living, as long, finally, as private ownership in the land, factories, machinery, mines, railways, and the like shall exist.

Now what are the terms upon which the workers are permitted to use the machinery of production? Common experience, that fount of all our knowledge, teaches us that the terms are the surrender of their labour-power in return for wages. With the product of their toil they have nothing to do—that remains with the purchaser of their labour-power.

So far the worker has obtained his living, but how has the non worker materially benefitted? If the value of the product of labour which is left in his hands is no greater than his expenditure upon it has been, it is very clear that he has had no material gain from the fact of his dominance of the means of life, and upon such result he cannot maintain his position as a non-worker. We must therefore look for increased value in the product of the worker's toil.

Working-class economics teach us that what really happens is this. The master or capitalist purchases labour-power and raw material (natural objects to which labour-power has been applied), and expends the former upon the latter. The labour-power, once expended, has ceased to exist: it has been transformed into labour, stored up in the material upon which it has been expended. To say that its value has entered into the latter is not the whole truth. It has undergone change, and this fact is of vital importance. When the capitalist purchased raw material he really only paid for the stored up labour within it. The actual substance of it did not count. He therefore purchased on the one hand labour (stored up in the raw material) and labour-power (stored up in the body of the labourer). Now that the labourer has expended his strength or labour-power, neither he nor the capitalist longer possesses it, but the latter possesses an increased volume of human labour accumulated in the material of the natural object.

The only difference, then, in the position of the capitalist at the time of purchasing labour and labour-power and now when the power has been expended, is, then he owned two factors—labour and labour-power



—while now he owns but one—congealed labour. Yet if he is any better off, any richer or more able to live without working, the why and the wherefore must be sought in this conversion of labour-power into labour.

If a labourer by consuming one loaf of bread could gain therefrom only sufficient labour-power to produce another and equal loaf of bread, there could be no increase of value. It is quite imaginable that given sufficiently primitive means of production, no better result could attend human effort. In that case there could be no non-working class. But if the means of production improve so that the labourer by consuming one loaf generates sufficient power to produce two loaves, then an increase of value becomes possible.

Herein is the whole secret of the source of capitalist wealth. Labour-power is purchased for what it costs to produce. The energy produced by a loaf of bread is bought for wages equalling a loaf of bread (we must take broad averages, of course). It cannot be bought for less, for the labourer must have the cost of production of his labour-power in order to reproduce it and continue in working efficiency. It will not (in the long run) sell for more because machinery provides an unemployed army and the competition of these keeps wages down to this level. But the labour-power created by one loaf produces other loaves in number according to the development of the machinery of production.

If then, the consumption of a loaf by the labourer results in labour-power sufficient to produce two loaves, which the capitalist buys for one loaf, the exploitation of that labour-power leaves the latter with two loaves instead of one. He has succeeded in getting the means of life without working for them—simply by virtue of his power of keeping the worker away from the productive machinery save upon terms. These terms give to the capitalist all the difference between the value of the labour-power and the value of its product—between the one loaf which it cost the labourer to produce his energy and the two or more loaves which that energy in turn produces.

The cost (reckoned in amount of sustenance) of producing labour-power remains pretty constant. A pound of wheat generated very much the same quantity of physical force a century ago as to-day. The value created by labour remains exactly constant, for labour is the measure of value and, notwithstanding the improvement in machinery, the product of an hour's work a hundred years ago was the same value as the product of an hour's work to-day—in each case the value is an hour's labour. The difference, however, between the cost of producing labour-power and the productive capacity of labour-power increases with the development of

machinery, and this increase has an important influence upon the position of the working class.

If the wages of the labourer equal one loaf and his product two, he will be able to buy back one loaf, while his master may presumably consume the other. In such case the services of the former are needed to produce bread the next day. But if by the improvement of machinery the worker is able to add to existing value (raw material) not only the loaf represented by his wages and the loaf consumed by his master, but an additional loaf, then his services can be dispensed with until that loaf is disposed of; in other words he has produced too much and may become unemployed. Apply this to the whole field of industry, and it is seen that every advance of the productive machinery heaps up against the workers a greater burden of "surplus" wealth to "slump" the market and throw them out of work; that the increasing fertility of human labour renders more precarious and more hopeless the position of the working class.

From what has been said it is apparent that the development of the industrial process, ever rendering human labour more productive, ever increasing the difference between the cost of producing the workers' efficiency and the productive capacity of that efficiency, ever heaping up against the worker a larger share of his own products which wages will not enable him to consume, draws ever clearer and firmer the line between the two classes. The development of productive instruments means increased wealth for their owners and increased poverty for those who, as a class, operate them. Here is antagonism of interests. Here is war to the knife. It shows itself in the banding together in trade unions, in myriad strikes and lock-outs, and in the universal endeavour of the workers to limit output.

The position, then, of the working class is, on the economic field, fundamentally one of opposition to the master class. As material interests must be fought for or surrendered, there must necessarily eventuate from these opposing class interests a class struggle. Such a class struggle, we affirm, exists. It cannot remain a struggle on the economic field for terms, for the laws arising from the productive system prescribe those terms and decrees such a struggle hopeless to the workers. Their only hope, then, is in a new system—the Socialist system. Towards this end the class struggle must be directed.

And the recognition of this class struggle is the first essential to its intelligent and successful prosecution. A. E. JACOMB.

To be Continued.

## ELECTION NOTES.

THE most important feature of the election of 1910 was the circulation of our Manifesto. It was the largest free distribution of literature we have yet undertaken, and Press notices from most unexpected quarters amply prove that it has found its way into many and far distant parts of the country. That we have succeeded in preventing some, at least, of the working class from being side-tracked into the sham fights of the masters is shown by the increasing number who, having gone to the poll, wrote SOCIALISM across their paper. The appearance of these intelligently "spoilt" papers at Haggerston caused Mr. Herbert Burrows to look glum, while it told the astute politician something it would be well for Mr. Burrows and his kind to endeavour to understand.

Another feature, and that also a gratifying one, was the large number of meetings we were able to hold—these being attended, even in very bad weather, by large and attentive audiences. Where opponents took our platform they readily (and always favourably) contrasted our meetings with the political hooliganism of those of other parties.

Again, in heckling candidates and their supporters and in issuing challenges to debate, our comrades lost no opportunity for steady, serious educative propaganda, and have the satisfaction of winning all along the line.

With the enemy it was different, however, and perhaps it falls to the Social-Democratic Party to provide the most illogical, as well as the most tragic, feature of the campaign. The former is found in their trying to work with the Liberals at Northampton (see front page) and in helping the Tories at Battersea while opposing both elsewhere, as at Burnley. The latter is found in their excuse for abject failure, when they say:

It is useless to disguise the fact that we have lost. Moral victories do not count in this unequal game; unfortunately tactless blunders do; and we should have done much better in at least three of the seats contested if what we regard as distinct errors of judgment had not been committed at critical moments in the campaign. The hysterical desire of some of our comrades to correct the slightest inaccuracy on the part of a candidate or his supporters is also a ridiculous but effective weapon in the enemy's hands. (Justice, 22.1.10. Italics ours.)

This, however, but serves to show that Mr. Hyndman was right when he described his followers as being "destitute of political aptitude." They are evidently likewise destitute of a knowledge of Socialist principles.

The above is almost equalled by the "Independent" Labour Party in their attempt to explain away their candidate's defeat at East Bristol. Says the *Labour Leader* (28.1.10): "Had the election taken place on the 15th instead of the 17th we could have won, but the intervention of Sunday permitted the Unionist gains to strengthen the electors' adherence to their old party's traditions." As the Liberal majority over the "Labour" man was 4,549, it would seem that the 15 Unionist gains had frightened 4,549 Labour stalwarts!!!

In the deluge of "cold, calculated frigid" inseparable from a contest where the master class strive with each other for the votes of the working class, it is difficult to make a selection, but for sheer, unadulterated egotism and political mendacity the palm may fairly be given to Mr. Lloyd George. Angling for votes in Wales this gentleman declared: "The first thing I am going to do is this. I am going to cleanse the land of poverty and want." (*Morning Leader*, 18.1.10.) As a demagogue he has out-Hunabed Hunable, but to an intelligent audience his statement simply carried the essence of refined insult.

A feature of this election, showing the scarcely veiled contempt the Liberals have for their "Labour" allies, is seen in the return of Mr. Spencer L. Hughes for Stockport. This gentleman had previously entered the field to spoil the chances of Mr. P. Curran, a "Labour" man, at Jarrow bye-election (1907) and similarly at Bermondsey (1909) against Mr. Salter, another "Labour" man, and now as a reward (or as a gauge of his abilities) he is found a "safe seat" at Stockport, but—the irony of it—he had this time to run with a "Labour" man. When the result was known he declared: "My colleague and I kept 'Down with the Lords' and 'Free Trade' to the front." Had Mr. Wardle of the Labour Party, the colleague in question, been anything more than a Liberal he would not have forgotten Jarrow and Bermondsey but would have resented association with this Liberal back as an insult to organised Labour.

Doubtless, however, four years environment "doing odd jobs in the Liberal workshop" has lowered (as Mr. Curran himself would say) the moral outlook of this Laboural M.P.

\* \* \*  
"Motor cars lent by Lord Llangatock and Lady St. Helier conveyed five working-men voters from Raglan, Monmouthshire to Walthamstow, a distance of nearly 200 miles by road." (*Evening News*, 26.1.10.)  
Comment is needless.

\* \* \*  
Says *Reynolds' Newspaper* (16.1.10): "Seeing that statements have been made to the effect that Mr. W. Thorne is a Labour plutocrat, it is as well to give his salary as organising secretary of the Gasworkers Union, it is £3 a week. In Parliamentary allowances he has about another £3 a week. The problem is how it is done on the Money." Of course, the above sum is not all, but even at £6 a week the problem really is what the workers get for it; and there is little doubt that there are many even on the staff of *Reynolds'* who would willingly take the job on at a lower figure, to say nothing of many of the unemployed who would make a much better job of it at half the price.

\* \* \*  
Our Tottenham comrades are to be congratulated on having so far cornered Mr. P. Alden, M.P. as to get him to accept a challenge to debate publicly the claims of the Liberal Party to the confidence of the workers. More particularly so as in his constituency there are two branches of the Independent Labour Party and these are severely split over the support given by their members to this gentleman—who is ready to defend the Liberal Party in debate against a Socialist.

A. A.

## BURNLEY BRANCH, S. P. G. B.

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS.  
HELD IN THE  
MARKET PLACE EVERY SUNDAY  
EVENING AT 7.30.

QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION INVITED.

## CORRESPONDENCE

E. MARSLAND writes: Marx says a rise in wages does not increase price of commodities. Commodities are sold at their true value. Well, then, the subsistence necessary for a labourer is equivalent to £1. He is engaged by the capitalist to work for 60 hours for £1, in which time he creates two commodities value £1 each. If the labourer forces his wages up 10s., he still creates value £2 in the 60 hours, but the capitalist loses 10s. profit. The commodities are still sold at their value, which is now £1 10s. It is true then a rise in wages forces a rise in the price of commodities.

In orthodox politics the Tariff Reformer, tell us more work will be found for the people. Free Traders say they will find more work and cheaper necessities. How do they really affect the worker? What effect has Free Trade on the Tariff Reformer and Tariff Reform on the Free Trader? Also how do the two policies operate? Again, how would a tax on imports affect the value of commodities and their price?

The first point in our correspondent's letter is so splendidly and exhaustively treated in the second chapter of "Value, Price and Profit" that he cannot do better than study that chapter for his answer.

Regarding the second question, seeing that in countries that have Protection the problem of unemployment is as grave as it is admitted to be here in "Free Trade England," the statements of both Tariff Reformer and Free Trader are shown to be quite valueless on this point. It is true that Free Trade in corn was established in England chiefly for the purpose of cheapening food stuffs, and, as a consequence, of bringing about a lowering of wages based on the reduced cost of living to the worker. Obviously such a system does not benefit the worker, but only the capitalist, who reaps larger profits thereby.

Briefly stated, the Tariff Reformer is in general one interested in supplying the home market, who wishes to prevent the competition of the foreigner by tariff walls, while the Free Trader is one interested in using materials from abroad, and who naturally wants those materials as cheap as possible. The effects are thus easily seen. Free Trade admits the competition of the foreigner with the merchant supplying the home market, generally resulting in a fall of prices. Tariff Reform, if successfully applied according to the Tariff Reformers, would put a barrier upon this competition and so assist in maintaining prices at their old level.

Concerning the next point, the value of an article is determined by the labour-time necessary to produce it under the general conditions prevailing at a given time. Consequently taxes cannot affect the value of commodities at all. Nor can it be said dogmatically that it will affect the price. In certain circumstances prices may rise when an import tax is levied, but actual results are bewildering in their variety. Thus in Jan. 1837 when the tax on foreign corn was 26s. 6d. per quart, the average price was 60s. In Dec. of the same year when the tax was 31s. 8d. per quart, the price had fallen to 54s. 4d. per quart. When the 1s. duty was taken off wheat about two years ago, the price rose. On the other hand, when the last reduction in the tax on tea took place the price of tea, generally, fell. These instances, which could be multiplied largely, show that taxation is about the smallest factor in determining the prices of articles; and that the other conditions of competition and cost of production are the primary points in this matter.

W. B. (Upton Park) asks, what would be the action of a member of the S.P.G.B. elected to Parliament, and how would he maintain our principle of "no compromise"?

By compromise we understand "political trading," the "one-and-one principle" for example (see first page). The Socialist member of Parliament (while in the minority, of course), would advance the interests of the working class by caustic and enlightening criticism of capitalism in all its manifestations—political, industrial, educational, etc., etc. He would take every opportunity that offered to use this higher and well-heard platform as a means of spreading Socialist understanding.

His presence, backed, as it must needs be, by a wide-awake electorate (suggestive of more to come and the threatened "end of all.") would in all probability evoke the initiation, by one or other

of the capitalist parties, of measures that may conceivably contain some small advantage for the working class. Now intellectual vitality requires the continual absorption and digestion of new facts as they occur. So with Socialism and proletarian politics. The S.P.G.B. is always ready to consider new facts and phases when these present themselves, and therefore the question of whether Socialist representatives should support any such measures in Parliament, is one that we do not, in January 1910, pretend to answer. We can only say as to this, that as we progress and new situations arise, our membership, ever guided by the revolutionary principle of no compromise, by our general understanding of Socialism and the requirements of the greatest interest of the working class, its emancipation, will DEMOCRATICALLY direct the action of its representatives. Each new situation, will have to be faced and Socialist action be decided upon the merits of the case. Meanwhile we may not claim rank with the Pope or Old Moore, and it should be understood that there is room for difference of opinion upon a matter that, at the present stage, is only of secondary importance. Our work to-day is to teach our fellow toilers their position and show them the indispensable steps they must take to win freedom.—(Ed. "S.S.")

F. S. F. (Staveley).—No. "When buying commodities on which duty has been paid," the working class does not contribute towards the upkeep of the Government. The worker's wages are determined by the average necessary cost of reproducing his labour-power—a sum, however, influenced by the state of trade and degree of resistance of the parties to the exchange. Thus if the price of the necessities of life rises, the necessary cost of the worker's subsistence is increased, and other things being equal, a rise in wages must follow or the quality of labour-power be depreciated. This rise in wages has in Germany followed upon the increased cost of living—a fact widely admitted by Free Trade organs.

The wages, as between districts, of Post Office employees in this country are carefully, and by guiding principle, fixed by the Postal authorities in accordance with this "law of wages." Such is also notoriously the practice of the railway companies.

The robbery of the workers by the capitalists (the recognition of which is the kernel of the Socialist position in economics and in politics) consists in the appropriation of that part of the labourer's product called surplus-value; the surplus, rent, interest and profit, that the employers obtain when the price of labour-power (wages) has been paid and the wear and tear of machinery made good. In this surplus value the master class, perforce, finds an ever expanding abundance from which to meet the growing cost of class government.

Much dust is kicked up in the squabble as to which particular exploiters shall pay the extra cost and so the workers are misled. The whole question for the exploited is to put an end to the system. The rest follows.—(Ed. "S.S.")

ELIZABETH VERNON (Gillingham).—Your understanding of the social problem is somewhat confused. That the workers, that is most of them, do not understand Socialism nor its worth, both "Fritz" and we are well aware. No; "Fritz" was not dealing with "the collective poverty of the community" (an arial abstraction which does not appeal to us), but with the poverty of the proletariat; the which, through the wages system, finds its source in the class control of the means of production and distribution. We can but invite you to make a study of our literature.—(Ed. "S.S.")

## "THE WORLD FOR THE WORKERS."

COPIES of the above four-part song—S. A., T., B.—complete with pianoforte accompaniment and Tonic-Solfa setting may be obtained, price 3d., or post free 3½d., through the branches or from the Head Office.

## WHAT IS A SOCIALIST?

In the County of Lancashire, Famous for cottons which blacks desire, Lies the Garden City of Burnley. A place o'er-rated most absurdly, A place o'er-cast with a haze of smoke (Taken by the local big-wigs as a joke); A town where nearly all the workers, Save those notorious as work shirkers, Live in their own unmortgaged houses, And lounge on soft upholstered couches. A town that is a paradise, And does poor southerners entice; This most beautiful of cities (To tradesmen it seems a thousand pities) Has been divided by the elections, Into three fierce, warring sections; Liberal, Tory, and S.D.P., Try to make the electors see, In an earthly heaven they will reside, If only they work well for their side; First we have the energetic Hyndman, (Whom we know well as a modest human), Who promises us a big, strong navy (Though we get no beef nor gravy), He's thought out schemes of wealth taxation, Whereby to work out our salvation, A man of wealth and peroration, Who desires to serve the British nation; A man of calibre is Hyndman, Who would tax the £6 a week man, And then within the limits of a phrase, Say that taxation simply is a maze, An old cricketer, a man of travel, rather, But some men get narrower by going farther. He has a bold lieutenant, Irving, Who his town is, yes, fond of serving, A man of bold and telling phrase, But rarely meaning all he says, A fine expert on education, Garnered from the German nation, His "enemies" love this administrator, The reward of M.P. will sure come later. To help this Hyndman we had Shaw, Who waxes fat with pen and jaw, He is an eminent dramatist, More than Shakespeare would be missed, A man of wealth and education, Who'd run by Fabians our great nation, This Shaw shines before any audience, Which—his enemies say—has little sense. We also had the great Robert Blatchford, To "Britain for the British" he has given backward, So his opponents say, but they even wail, When he boxes the compass in the "Daily Mail"; The founder of the Clarionette, Who's oft compared to a marionette, Our land, says he, will soon be German, Our land, now collared by the workman, (And if some say he is no Socialist, Well then, such but our enemies assist); His mouth is golden, by the fairies kissed, He is no common, callow, impossibilist; But gravely, what is an impossibilist? Surely no new brand of Socialist? No! the straight Socialist of yore, 'Tis true to say exists no more, His place is taken by puny reformers, On capitalist platforms wily performers, Yes! the much miligned impossibilists, Are all that remains of the old Socialists. LUCIAN.

## HYBRIDS AND THINGS.

"Nature abhors hybrids." Thus inditeth VAUOC. Vauoc is not a hybrid. He is a writer in the *Referee*. There are other words that more truly describe him, but we remember this is a family journal and refrain. Under the elegant sub-title of "Mixtures of Mud" he dwells upon the antipathy and loathing expressed toward the offspring of inter-racial marriages or unions. The analogy Vauoc would like his readers to draw is that much of the Liberal-Nationalist Socialism (whatever that is) of to-day is pretty much the same in respect to thought—a mixture of undesirable. "They are intellectual half-castes, quadrons, mestizos, and octoroons." Well, Liberal-Nationalist Socialism may be all that, but what is this multi-named monstrosity? A Liberal is one who stands for the continuance



**S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR FEBRUARY.**

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	6th.	13th.	20th.	27th.
Battersea, Prince's Head 11.30	H. Martin	J. Hall	P. G. Barker	H. Joy
" 7.30	H. Joy	J. Fitzgerald	H. Cooper	H. Newman
Earlsfield, Magdalene Road 7.30	H. Cooper	J. Kemble	H. Newman	A. Barker
Forest Gate, Sebert Rd. 11.30	A. Jacobs	T. W. Allen	J. Kennett	H. King
Finsbury Park 3.0	J. Fitzgerald	A. Anderson	F. Dawkins	A. Anderson
Kennington Triangle 11.30	H. Newman	A. Barker	J. E. Roe	H. Martin
Manor Park, Earl of Essex " "	J. Kennett	F. Dawkins	A. Anderson	F. Dawkins
Paddington, Prince of Wales " "	A. Anderson	F. C. Watts	J. Fitzgerald	F. C. Watts
Stoke Newington, Ridley Rd., Dalston 11.30	R. Fox	J. Fitzgerald	D. Fisher	T. W. Allen
Tooting Broadway 11.30	F. C. Watts	P. G. Barker	H. Joy	A. Barker
" 7.30	H. Martin	J. Roe	A. Anderson	H. Joy
Tottenham, West Green Cnr. 11.30	F. Dawkins	H. Joy	H. Martin	A. Pearson
" 7.30	T. W. Allen	A. Anderson	J. Fitzgerald	T. W. Allen
Walthamstow, Hoe St. Stn. " "	A. Anderson	J. Crump	T. W. Allen	J. Fitzgerald
Wandsworth, Buckhold Road 8.0	P. G. Barker	H. Cooper	A. Barker	H. Cooper
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill 11.30	R. Kent	D. Fisher	F. W. Stearn	R. Fox
" 7.30	J. Crump	R. Fox	A. W. Pearson	J. Crump

**MONDAYS.**—Earlsfield, Magdalene Rd., 8.30. Queen's-square, Upton Pk., 8. Islington, Highbury, Cnr. 8.30.

**TUESDAYS.**—Battersea, Prince's Head, 8 p.m.

**WEDNESDAYS.**—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Waltham Green, Church, 8. Plaistow, Greengate, 8.

**THURSDAYS.**—Battersea, Prince's Head, 8.0. Tottenham, St. Ann's Road, 8.30. Earlsfield, Magdalene Road, 8.

**FRIDAYS.**—Paddington, Prince of Wales, 8.30. Tooting Broadway, 8.30.

**SATURDAYS.**—Earlsfield, Magdalene Road, 7 p.m. Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m. East Ham, Ruskin Avenue, 8.

of the present system with its unemployment, poverty, prostitution and periodical breakdown, for ever and ever, amen. A Nationalist is one who is out for the same sweet condition of things applied more particularly to the Emerald Isle, and who resents the interference of the English capitalists in what he considers his home affairs. A Socialist is one who considers hunger and nakedness out of place and villainous in a world overflowing with food and clothing. He proposes to end the anomaly. Vauoc's use of the three categories as an all embracing whole requires a little elucidation. Has anyone ever heard of a Christian-Atheist? A Liberal Socialist or Nationalist Socialist is about as reasonable.

Whilst classifying everyone who is not a Conservative as an intellectual half-caste, a mixture of mud, he is generous enough to say that there certainly is something to be said for Socialism. As witness:

"The one considerable plea for Socialism is the contrast between the misery in our midst and the plethora of ill-spent wealth that is often ill-gotten. A walk through the mean streets of London, Manchester, Glasgow, Liverpool; a shilling seat at a cup-tie match; an hour spent at Liverpool Street or Baker Street Station from 7 a.m. to 8 a.m. as the trains disgorge the manual workers of the Great City are enough to show that an alarming proportion of the British townsmen is degenerating. The cause of much human decay is want of proper nurture, housing, food, warmth, ventilation, exercise, pure milk and sound mothercraft. Drink, heredity, and improvident marriage account for much, but the fact remains that the people of the mean streets of England are the physical inferiors of those in the same class of life in Germany. It does not follow that what one autocratic beaurocracy has done to grade up the people a popular Government may do, but it does follow that the existence of millions of stunted and hungry people side by side with Yankees or cosmopolitans who give dinners at £60 a head and live idly in riotous profusion engenders discontent that takes the form of desiring revolutionary change. To the hungry, no change can be for the worse."

The remaining space at Vauoc's disposal he does not use to point out a way by which this state of affairs might be remedied, but in gentlemanly references to "bastard Cobdenism, the rodent ulcer of Socialism," and "sich." But we at least may find solace in the fact that nature has also kindly provided a place in her antipathies for Vauoc. It is quite open to question whether Nature does or does not abhor hybrids, but there is no gainsaying the fact that "Nature abhors a vacuum."

WILFRED.

### THE NEW PAMPHLET, The CAPITALIST CLASS.

By KARL KAUSKY,

Is now ready and can be obtained from the Head Office: Price 1½d. post free.

Printed by A. Jacob, Globe Press, Forest Lane, Stratford, for the Proprietors, The Socialist Party of Great Britain, and published at 10, Sandland Street, London.

## THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

**OBJECT.**

*The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth and in the interest of the whole community.*

**Declaration of Principles****THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN****HOLDS**

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

**APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.**

To the Secretary,

.....Branch, S.P.G.B.

I hereby declare my adhesion to the above principles, and request enrolment as a member of The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

Signature.....

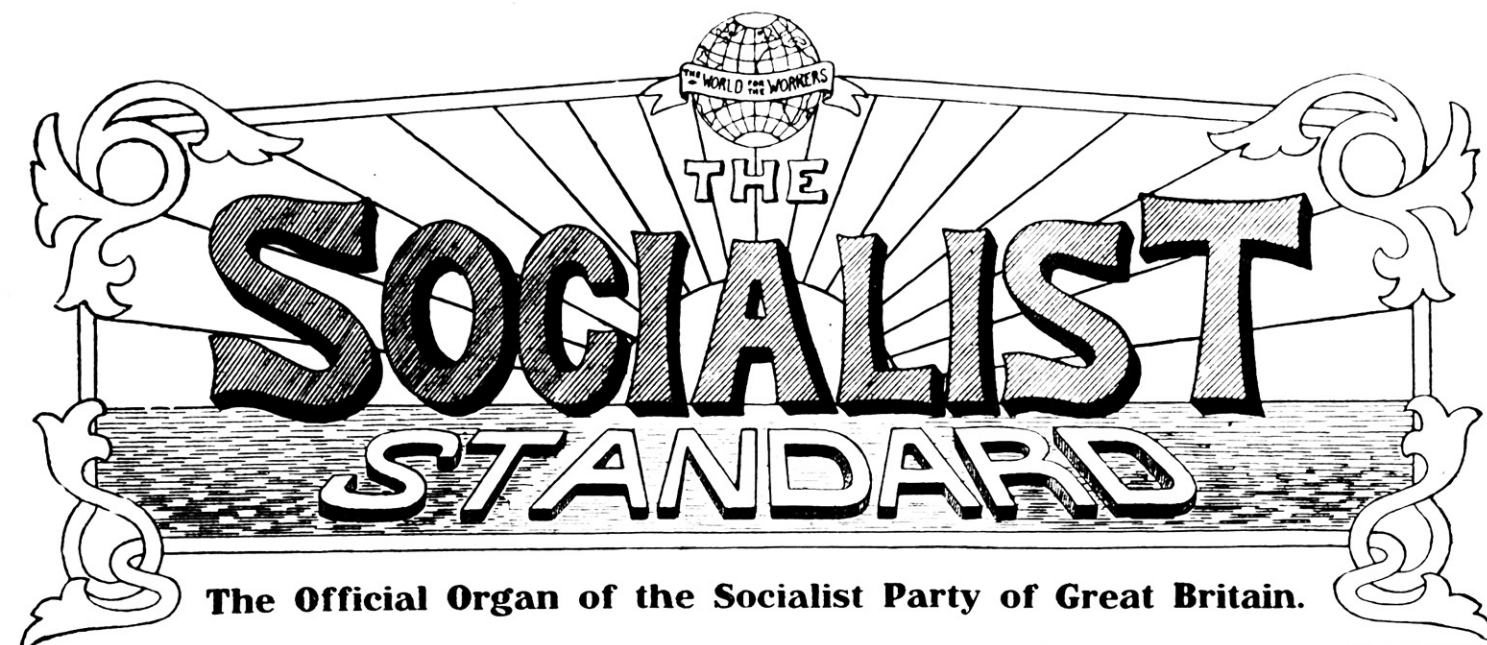
Address.....

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Date.....

**SPECIAL NOTE.**—This form cannot be accepted if detached from Declaration printed above. The complete column must be handed to branch Sec.



No. 67. Vol. 6.]

LONDON, MARCH 1910.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

## LABOURALISM AT THE POLLS. ANOTHER VICTORY FOR CONFUSION.

AFTER the General Election of 1906 we were able to expose the Labour Party's lying pretence of "independence" (SOCIALIST STANDARD, March 1906), its pretended acceptance and practice of the quite insufficient, if indispensable, principal, that the workers political party

MAY NOT WORK WITH,  
ally itself or compromise with any of the parties of Capital.

Now after the General Election of 1910, we have again a like duty to perform—namely, to show some of our deluded fellow workers that the so-called Labour Party is not even what it pretends to be, little as is that same threadbare "independence," but is, on the contrary, nothing less than A DELIBERATE FRAUD UPON THE WORKING CLASS.

Some twelve years ago, Hardie, MacDonald, Snowden & Co., having long decided that the teaching of Socialism brought more kicks than ha'pence, found in the battered and largely discredited condition of the Trade Unions their opportunity. Trade Union officials were then only too glad to forward a scheme that promised to strengthen their position and increase their incomes. Hence the much trumpeted Labour Party, known at first as the Labour Representation Committee.

Soon came success with the election of D. J. Shackleton and Will Crooks, both unopposed by the Liberals; the latter, indeed, having some of his supporters carried to the poll in the motor cars of admiring if cynical peers—the qualms of a few wavering I.L. Peers being quietened by the adoption of the Revised Constitution of the Labour Representation Committee. By this Labour representatives were to "undertake to form or join a distinct group in Parliament, with its own whips and its own policy on Labour questions, to

ABSTAIN STRICTLY

from identifying themselves with or promoting the interests of any section of the Liberal or Conservative parties." (Italics ours.) Upon the strength of this declaration (still in force) thousands of working folk have mistakenly given the Labour Party their enthusiastic and optimistic support—likewise their contributions. With what result? Betrayal! The requicken- ing of the Liberal party and the great prosperity of the redundant "Labour leaders."

The recent General Election provides evidence in abundance supporting our condemnation—evidence also, however, that the Labour Party's position is far from secure, and that with the declining popularity of Liberalism down will go its understudy, Labourism.

Both lost heavily; the Labour Party being reduced to 40, including the newly joined miners. Arthur Peters, J.P., National Agent of the Labour Party, makes the situation pretty

plain in the *Labour Leader* (4.2.10). Says he: "The writer agrees heartily with the views expressed by Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P., when he recently pointed out that the questions of the Lords' veto and the Budget were almost identical with those of the Liberal party; or, to put the point in another way, it was rather too much to expect 'the ordinary man in the street' to pick out the distinction." And so the electors naturally meted out much the same treatment to one as to the other.

Keir Hardie, cynically contemptuous of the intelligence of his followers, denies with moral fervour (both before and after the election) that the almost universally perceived alliance between the two parties exists. Hardie, of course, must try to keep up appearances, but he protests too much. That the parties to this deal should show us all the cards is hardly to be expected. But this much is clear: that in the present state of mind of the Labour movement, no formal inter-party negotiations or swearing "on the book" could have gained more seats, pelf or place. Quite the contrary: the complete and much bemoaned failure of the 25 three-corner contests indeed serve, with some, to save the face of the Labour Party—while Mr. Peters is able to console himself with the reassuring reflection that they only damaged

THEIR FRIENDS THE LIBERALS

to the extent of letting in 4 Tories.

The game was apparent, when (see SOCIALIST STANDARD for Jan), as the election approached, candidate after candidate was withdrawn and mutual concessions made; when labourites and ministers toured the country making almost identical speeches—pro-Budget and anti-Lords; when the Liberal Press could hail the Labour aspirants as its friends and usually, its proteges. It is worth noting that of the total of 78 constituencies contested by the Labour Party, 40 were not even contested by the Liberals, "Labour" being left a clear field. These provided 30 out of the 40 Labourite wins.

The practically equal number of votes (the Liberals being nearly always at the top of the poll) cast in the 10 double-member constituencies successfully and jointly contested by the Labour party, indicates unmistakably the state of mind of the electors, and the political identity of the ostensibly separate and independent candidatures in question. Only one candidate of each organisation, of course, was put up.

Here are a few examples:

Constituency.	Labour-man.	Liberal
Leicester	MacDonald 14,337	14,643
Blackburn	Snowden 11,896	12,065
Derby	Thomas 10,139	10,343
Stockport	Wardle 6,682	6,645

The local papers show that the number of "plumpers" was, as a rule, very small.

Obviously the "Progressive" electors have done as they were directly or insidiously instructed by the candidates and their agents. That is, given one vote to the Liberal and "one to Labour"—parties that Keir Hardie hypocritically pretends are opposed to one another.

The case of Blackburn, where Philip Snowden was the "Labour" candidate and Sir Thomas Barclay the Liberal, may serve to show the means whereby this very gratifying result was obtained. On Jan. 4th Mr. Snowden and Sir Thomas Barclay addressed a great anti-Lords demonstration, two halls being used simultaneously, the speakers crossing over from one to the other—a joint demonstration—a straight-forward

BREACH OF THE LABOURITE CONSTITUTION.

Fervent friends of the workingmen were supporting the candidates, in the persons of the Rev. Fred. Hibberd (Free Church Council), Mr. S. Bamber (S.D.P.), Mr. M. Phillips (Irish Nationalist League), W. Woolley, Esq., J.P. (Band of Hope Union) and other worthy red-herring trailers. The chairman of the Town Hall meeting—Mr. G. Bond, president of the Trades Council—"appealed to the electors of Blackburn to send two Progressives to Parliament." The Rev. F. Hibberd was glad to see a united meeting of "all the Progressive forces" and recommended the electors to send their "two Progressives" to Westminster, reminding them that they had two votes (see *Northern Daily Telegraph*, 5.1.10).

On another occasion "Mr. Snowden urged as he had already done on previous occasions, a united Progressive vote," etc.

Mrs. Snowden also addressed the meeting and appealed for votes for "this very near relative of mine and Sir Thomas Barclay."

"Do you agree with Mrs. Snowden that the second vote should be given to Sir Thomas Barclay?" Snowden was asked. He replied in the affirmative. (*Blackburn Weekly Telegraph*, 8.1.10.)

"There were 11,239 'splits' between myself and the Liberal. The Labour Representation Committee issued appeals to the electors to

VOTE FOR THE LIBERAL

as well as myself. This course was generally followed."—Snowden in *Labour Leader*, 21.1.10 (italics are ours).

"It would have been an intense disappointment to him (Snowden) if he had to go to the House of Commons with either of those two Tory candidates." And then the capper: "Mr. Snowden is my fellow member, and I can say, as Alderman Hamer said, that Mr. Snowden and his followers have worked for us most loyally—as loyally as we have worked for them."—*Northern Daily Telegraph*, 18.1.10 (italics ours).

Mr. Snowden's protest that "there is no alli-



ance is reduced to a whisper.

Much the same occurred in the other two member constituencies. Of Leicester we learn that "Mr. MacDonald has lost no opportunity of advising his supporters to cast both their votes for the Budget and against the Lords, observing that he cannot be indifferent to whether his colleague is or is not sound on these points."—*Daily News*, 15.1.10. In other words, as in 1906, he "loyally"—this seems to be the fashionable expression—told the electors to give their second vote to

HIS LIBERAL ALLY.

At Dundee domestic felicity was as judiciously maintained.

"Support the two sitting members' Mr. Churchill's bills say upon the walls. Mr. Wilkie is not free to reciprocate as perhaps he would like, but he advised his friends to give their second vote against the House of Lords, by which form of words he does Mr. Churchill a good turn and his loyalty to the law of the Labour Party moults no feather."—*Manchester Guardian*, 18.1.10

At Mid Derby Mr. Hancock had the kind help of his fellow Liberal, Mr. Lloyd George, who said: "Well, I am on a Liberal platform to-night, I think, supporting a Labour candidate. They have supported me steadily throughout on the Budget. I had no better supporters, and I am proud to be on the platform with them to-night (cheers)." — *Manchester Guardian*, 25.1.10. The following from the same journal dated 28th Jan. depicts well the position of the miners' candidates, and in essence that of all the successful Labourites.

"Before the Labour Party took its final shape, Mr. Hancock was, like most of his colleagues in the service of the miners, a Liberal. It is now agreed that the miners' representatives shall act in Parliament with the Labour Party, and a difficulty might have arisen in Mid Derby but for Mr. Hancock's entire acceptability to both wings of the Progressive party. The Liberals are working heartily with the Labour party to secure his return, and for that purpose

A JOINT ELECTION COMMITTEE

has been formed."

One could fill this issue of the *SOCIALIST STANDARD* with instances proving the essential unity of the Liberals and the alleged Labour Party. Deptford and Woolwich are but instances of the frequent "acceptability" of the Labour man to the local Liberal Associations.

Some of the reasons put forward by successful candidates are full of meaning. We have given above some of the post-election statements of Mr. Snowden. J. Pointer, M.P., says (*Labour Leader*, 21.1.10): "The Liberal party, after deciding not to nominate a candidate against me, followed up with a manifesto and declaration that since, on three very important points—the Budget, the Lords, and Tariff Reform—they and we were in agreement, it would serve the general interest best, if they supported me by work and vote. This they did loyally."

A. H. Gill, M.P. says (ibid): "I won Bolton by keeping the House of Lords and the land taxes to the front." Ramsay MacDonald says in the *I.L.P.* organ of Jan. 28th: "The issues were mainly the Budget and the House of Lords, but unemployment was not forgotten. Both Liberal and Labour electors used their second votes, and so Leicester was kept." D. J. Shackleton, M.P. said: "The Clitheroe victory was won on the three questions of the House of Lords, the Budget, and Free Trade. . . . We had also the active support of many leading Liberals, and it may be said that the Progressives all pulled together."

Will Thorne, M.P. says: The local FREE CHURCH COUNCIL HELPED

by passing a unanimous resolution of support, and . . . Free Church members spoke and worked enthusiastically with other friends in support of my candidature." W. T. Wilson, M.P. says: "Our victory in Westhoughton was won by the forces of organised Labour and Progression uniting with the object of resisting the attack of the Lords upon the rights and liberties of the People."

H. Twist, M.P. says: "After forty years of unbroken possession by the Conservative party, Wigan fell before the attack of a combination of Progressive forces such as the town has not

witnessed in the whole of its political history." And so on *ad nauseum*.

That the general Labourite propaganda in favour of the Liberals was well appreciated by these is further evidenced by the action of Percy Alden, M.P. for Tottenham, who issued a leaflet quoting the "pronouncements of the Labour Leaders" Snowden, Barnes, Hardie, and Bruce Glasier, and circulated this in support of his candidature. Indeed, the results of the election generally, point to the conclusion that the humbugging trading upon the issues raised by the Liberals has, both with the Labour Party and the Social Democratic Party, resulted in the greatest advantage to the Liberals. They have with but few exceptions been elected at the top of the poll wherever these two organisations have done a great deal of propaganda—allowing, of course, for the thirty cases where the Labour men, so "acceptable," were presented with the seat. And all this, we are assured, is

FOR THE WORKERS, FOR SOCIALISM!

We draw attention to the following as showing that at heart the Labour leaders know that the issues raised at the election are nothing but humbug from the standpoint of working class interests. The well-known I.L.P. Mr. Leonard Hall, "criticising the Budget at the Grand Theatre, Manchester, last night, denied it was Socialism; it was merely 'a stage-managed response of Liberal quackery to the Tory bounce of Tariff Reform. . . . a cheap window-dressing exploit, a frost and a fraud.'"—*Manchester Guardian*, 3.11.09. Mr. Keir Hardie is stated to have said at Domluis (*Justice*, 19.2.10) "The Budget will become law in a few weeks from now, but there won't be a man or woman amongst you one penny the better for it." On the anti-Lords out-cry the I.L.P. organ (5.6.07) said in a leading article: "The whole question of the Lords may be summed up into this—that those who approve of Capitalism and Landlordism are for the maintenance of the 'Lord's' veto . . . and those who are against Capitalism and Landlordism care little whether their enemies are elected or non-elected, or whether they be Peers or Commoners."

Then the strenuous partiality of the Labour crew for the Liberals, and their enmity towards the Peers is confessedly the outward and visible sign that they are not to be numbered with those "who are against Capitalism and Landlordism." Yet how have we been reviled for putting them ON THAT SIDE OF THE FENCE!

Space will not permit us to give further instances of the shameless way in which these mumpers on the labour movement have allied themselves with the Liberal party, in spite of that constitution which they have signed which expressly forbids any such alliance. We have material enough for a number of such articles as these, and it is possible that we may find space in a future issue for something other than a mere recital of nauseating acts of treachery that must be as wearying and disgusting to our readers as to ourselves. While we do not doubt that the intelligence of our readers is sufficient to enable them to digest the evidence herein given, and to make up their minds on the essential point of whether the Labour Party have or have not allied themselves with the Liberal party, lack of space alone has prevented us assisting with fuller comment, and this we hope to have the opportunity to offer upon early occasion.

H.

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## THE SALVATION ARMY AND THE WORKING CLASS.

"The Safety of England lies in her Sunday."—Guizot.

### A Notable Utterance.

At the time this famous *bon-mot* was uttered (1848) any one who had travelled much on the Continent of Europe would naturally contrast the mental equipment of the English workers with that attained by the proletariat of other countries. To such an one the witty saying of the "great" French statesman would have been pregnant with meaning. Sunday was the "day of rest." The tavern and its next door neighbour, the chapel, were then practically the only means of Sabbath recreation open to the worker. This being so, he would be little likely to bother his head with theories about the reorganisation of society.

Drugged and stupid with heavy doses of "Beer and Bible" Sunday, but little inclination on his part would be evinced to rise in revolt against his masters. The bourgeois could therefore comfortably settle himself in his cosiest arm-chair, and, as he sipped his glass of after-dinner port, purr softly to himself, "God's in his Heaven, all's right with the world!"

Could the shade of the astute middle-class Gaul in this our present day revisit this country, we can well imagine him adding further point to his epigram in some such words as: "and in her Salvation Army."

Two great assets the masters rely on to keep their wage-slaves in a state of subjection. The armed forces of the nation—which they are able to manipulate to suit their own ends—and secondly the lamentable state of almost hopeless ignorance in which the workers are still steeped.

### Chloroforming the Workers.

In fostering and keeping alive this state of ignorance numerous charitable and philanthropic agencies play an ever-increasing and important part. The bourgeois in this our beloved country is a greater adept than his French or German confrère at the gentle art of building temporary bridges across the yawning chasm which lies between him and the proletariat. In the attempt—too often, alas, successful—to hide the running sore of working-class degradation, more time, money and effort are spent in this country than in any other under the sun. Coals, blankets, soup and the visitation of the sick are a very present help whenever it is desired to trail a red herring across the path of the deluded worker.

This, of course, also applies to Continental Europe, but there either the drug is administered in much smaller quantities, or the trick is clumsily performed. Verily, his "charitable institutions" are a tower of strength to the British "employer of labour." This being so, we shall not have far to seek for one of the chief reasons why the English worker is as yet so unresponsive to the teaching of the Socialist. "Where ignorance is bliss, 'twere folly to be wise."

### The Vicar of Hell.

Among the many agencies employed by the capitalist class to bring about this state of affairs, the Salvation Army is one of the most successful.

We have no hesitation in saying that the influence of the Salvation Army on the mind of the working class is wholly evil.

In two ways: Firstly, by its drum and trumpet performances at the street corner, coupled with the exhortations of the "captain" and the "Hallelujah lasses" to "come to Salvation," a by no means inconsiderable section of the workers is persuaded that "conversion" is the one thing needful, and that the reformation of the individual and the building up of character must precede any attempt to better material conditions.

In this way the worker, being "well saved," "snatched from Satan" (or whatever form of expressive but inelegant cant is used), his eyes turned from his material interests (the only ones that matter) towards a heavenly throne (which doesn't), is gradually reduced from a potential thinker to a docile, humble and obedient slave,

And that is exactly what the masters want.

### The "Great Idea" Fraud.

Thus in a recent issue of a great daily paper [1] we read the following:

#### SALVATION ARMY IDEAL.

In a "foreword" to the annual report of the social work of the Salvation Army—written by Mr. Arnold White under the title of "The Great Idea"—the author expresses "the conviction that in the Salvation Army we have a strong barrier against Godless Socialism."

"To grasp the Great Idea," he adds, "is to understand the height and depth of the self-sacrificing devotion, the reason for the common-sense, the resource and readiness of the Booths and their officers, in seeking the rescue of the Lost Brigade. It imports hope to the man whose failure in the battle of life is due to his own character and conduct."

Now science knows no such thing as an individual character, apart from social surroundings.

In the second place, the worker's mind is muddled and befogged by the "Army's" ministrations to his creature comfort in the shape of "Soup and Shelter."

### Sentimental Slop.

How often is the Socialist critic met with some such question-begging argument (!) as this?—"When I was out of work the officer came round and helped my missis and the kids. Don't say anything against the Salvation Army or I'll, etc., etc."

(This, of course, loses sight of the fact that our diatribes are levelled at the "Army" as an institution, not at the inoffensive and often sorely-sweated wage-slaves of that venerable fraud, the autocrat of Queen Victoria Street.)

Or again—"Whilst you fellows are spouting at the street-corner, General Booth and his men are feeding people and giving them shelter from the cold! Why don't you do something for the poor?"

### Saving the Rates.

The fact cannot be too strongly insisted upon that the Salvation Army provides the bourgeois with a cheap and effective form of sticking-plaster wherewith to cover up the hideous ulcer which is eating out the vitals of our class. For are we not told by Mr. F. A. McKenzie—the "Army's" spokesman for 1908—that "it is the business of the Salvation Army to help and reform. And where I have worked out costs on both sides the *Salvation Army does for £1 what costs the Guardians £3*."—"Waste Humanity," 1908, p. XVIII. (The italics are ours.)

This is letting the cat out of the bag with a vengeance!

We are well aware that the workers in other capitalist countries enjoy the blessings of the "Army's" efforts to please, both on the religious and the material side. Stray items of news do sometimes filter through from "foreign parts" to show that the rate-saving dodge is not confined to British soil. The following paragraph will serve as an illustration.

#### COUNCIL SEEKS ARMY'S AID.

The Helsingfors Town Council has again turned to the Army for a solution of its unemployment problem. Numbers of out-of-works had adopted a threatening attitude towards the authorities, and demanded 10,000 Finnish marks from the council for food and clothes.

In their dilemma, the authorities approached The Army and handed over the sum of £200 (half the money demanded), with the request that we should find some of them work.—*War Cry*, Feb. 12, 1910.

But it is in Britain and "our" colonies that the operations of this gigantic many-sided fraud can best be observed from the point of view of working-class economics.

### The "Army" and the Public.

Articles and paragraphs criticising the Salvation Army have from time to time appeared in various magazines and newspapers. We nevertheless believe that no detailed attempt has yet been made to approach the subject from the Socialist point of view. Even Mr. John Manson's monumental work on the subject [2] (to which we have gone for many of the facts and figures to be herein quoted), and which should be read by all Socialists) deals mostly with the "Army" from the public's (i.e., the capitalist public) standpoint. We are emboldened to quote,

1 *Daily News* Dec., 4, 1909.

2 "The Salvation Army and the Public," by John Manson. Routledge, 44d.

when necessary, from Mr. Manson's work for two reasons.

First, it is almost impossible for anyone who does not possess an inexhaustible stock of time and patience to gain direct and straight forward information from the Queen Victoria Street authorities themselves. Secondly, although the work above referred to was first published in July 1906—a subsequent and cheaper edition being issued in 1908—General Booth and his assistants have never yet thought fit to make any reply to the charges brought against them, although repeatedly urged to do so by their journalistic supporters in the capitalist Press. The vague and airy notions of the "General" on this subject can be at once eliminated—e.g.: "These attacks are too silly to need refutation" [1] (although a few months previously an interviewer was informed at "Headquarters" that the book was officially admitted to contain "a good deal of truth.")

(Here let us state that, in accordance with our custom, the columns of the *SOCIALIST STANDARD* are at all times open to apologists for the "Army," official or otherwise.)

With the manipulation and management or mismanagement of the Salvation Army's funds the Socialist is not directly concerned. The money collected is subscribed out of surplus-value, the donations of the workers being, we believe, in proportion to the whole a negligible quantity.

As Socialists our business is first and foremost with the effect the "Army's" schemes have upon the economic position of the working class. Our enquiry will naturally fall into two divisions.

A. The results of the purely "tradesman" or "shop-keeping" operations of the "Army."

B. The inception, growth, and present position of the "Darkest England" scheme with its manifold ramifications, viz., Elevators, Farm Colonies, Emigration, etc.

With the first of these divisions: "The 'Army's' Trading Schemes," we shall at once proceed to deal.

(To be continued.)

1 General Booth, 1906.

## KROPOTKIN ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

KROPOTKIN'S work on the French Revolution, just issued in its English edition, professes to be the first written from the point of view of the "common people." The author says: "The Parliamentary history of the Revolution, its wars, its policy and diplomacy, has been studied and set forth in all its details. But the popular history of the Revolution remains still to be told. The part played by the people of the country places and towns in the Revolution has never been . . . narrated in its entirety." (Page 4.) Kropotkin claims that his work, to a certain extent, fills the gap which previously existed. "The people," he says, "long before the Assembly, were making the Revolution on the spot; they gave themselves, by revolutionary means, a new municipal administration" (Page 108.) Further: "The Assembly only sanctioned on principle and extended to France altogether what the people had accomplished themselves in certain localities. It went no further." (Page 125.) Again, the middle-class Brissot said: "It is the galleries of the Convention, the people of Paris, and the Commune, who dominate the position and force the hand of the Convention every time some revolutionary measure is taken." (Page 357.)

We know to-day that the French Revolution was a bourgeois revolution, that from the assembling of the States General to the days of the Directory there was a succession of bourgeois assemblies, and that, above all, *fear* drove the Royalist party to cede first one point and then another, and further, that the bourgeoisie, once in unstable control of the State, was compelled, in order to keep the allegiance of its own lower ranks and the help of the inchoate proletariat, to grant measures of relief, of political and legal reform, and, of course, a plentiful crop of promises. As Meredith puts it: "The rich will not move without a gad—I have and hold—you

shall hunger and covet until you are strong enough to force my hand."

The French Revolution was, then, a bourgeois revolution, made by a wealthy class, a class which, having gradually attained a position of economic advantage, determined on the grasping of political power as the proper safeguard of its interests. There can be little doubt that the English Revolution of 1640 and the great French Revolution were enacted by such.

But Kropotkin does not adopt the Marxian view that the root of historic change is to be found chiefly in economic development. He says that "It is always ideas that govern the world," and he contends that two currents made the French Revolution. "One of them, the current of ideas, came from the middle class; the other, the current of action, came from the people, . . . who wanted to obtain immediate and definite improvement in their economic condition." (Page 1.)

There have been many attempts to explain the French Revolution in other than economic terms. Kropotkin thus largely attributes it to the work of the philosophers and teachers who preceded the Revolution, but after all his concept differs but little from that of Louis the Sixteenth, who, when he encountered the works of Voltaire and Rousseau in the library of the Order of Malta, referred to them as the source of all his misfortunes. Other historians have spoken of the whimsical and unbalanced character of the French people as the cause of the great Revolution, and this is surely as plausible an explanation as the "idea" hypothesis of Kropotkin. Frederic Harrison, in his essays on the "Meaning of History," gives a long and remarkable list of economic changes which the Revolution made, and Kropotkin himself recognises this when he says: "Before all this (i.e., the Revolution) could be realised, they (the bourgeoisie) knew the ties that bound the peasant to his village must be broken. It was necessary that he should be free to leave his hut, and even that he should be forced to leave it, so that he should be impelled towards the towns in search of work." (Page 8.) "As to the real authority, that was to be vested in a Parliament, in which an educated middle class, which would represent the active and thinking part of the nation, should predominate." (Page 7.)

I remember once seeing an advertisement in an American magazine puffing up a well-known brand of revolvers. It was illustrated with a picture full of meaning. A paymaster stood behind a wire screen doling out wages. A few dozen piles of coins were laid in a row, and behind the screen were a few dozen rough looking men waiting for their wages. Within easy reach of the paymaster's hand lay a revolver; one, as the advertisement grimly said, reputed for quick, accurate work at short notice. The revolver was emblematic of force, but here is the rub—what was there to prevent the men themselves likewise possessing these weapons celebrated for quick and accurate work? I think we can safely say that in the majority of cases it was the "idea" deeply imprinted on the minds of the men that the paymaster had a right to his piles of gold. Not that the illustration stops here, or we should be idealists; but this servile idea that property is sacred, a test of virtue and ability, had been sedulously instilled into the minds of those men by the paid orators and quibblers of the capitalist class. It is our work, we who are conscious of the working of class society, to combat that idea, and in this work we are aided by economic conditions; whilst the economic environment existing at the time of the great French Revolution was not adapted to the social ownership of the means of production and distribution. We Socialists, just as much as the hired hacks of the capitalist class, are products of our time. We move along the line of the law of things; to-day insecurity of existence for the many, production concentrating into monopoly, our vigorous propaganda, these are the elements which make for Socialism.

Kropotkin, however, gives us some acute criticism. He deals with the Communistic conception of Babeuf in a manner which is capable of application to our would-be sociologists of the I.L.P. Altogether Babeuf's conception was so narrow, so unreal, that he thought it possible to reach Communism by the action of a few individuals who were to get the Government into their hands by means of the conspiracy of a



## OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions for THE SOCIALIST STANDARD, articles correspondence and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed, —The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 10, Sandland Street, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable.

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## The Socialist Standard,



TUESDAY, MAR. 1, 1910.

## The Great Hoax.

The "great fite" between the Lords and the Commons is over "bar the shouting." We may be reminded that bar the shouting it was never commenced—which, of course is perfectly true. We will therefore correct ourselves and put it this way: the bottle of political pop which the Liberal politicians uncorked—after vigorous preliminary agitation to bring it up "heady"—with such ostentation a few weeks ago, has got nearly through its effervescence. It has boiled and bubbled and toiled and troubled; it has frothed and foamed and raged and spluttered and spat fire; it has looked daggers and thunder and threatened plague, pestilence and famine; it has raved of red ruin and revolution and so frightened us with forwarnings of volcanic eruption and sudden death that we have forgotten all about the comet. But if it frightened us it really meant no harm: it was a quite good-natured modicum of shandy-bluff, whose nature it is to be a little boisterous while it may. Now it has given up the gas and wants nothing more than a quiet corner in which it hide its relic.

Well, it has fulfilled its mission—let it die. So say those who uncorked it; so said we ere yet it was uncorked. But it was so beastly easy to prophesy in such a case that we are almost ashamed to remind our readers of the circumstance. Well, let it die; and let its miserable undertakers of the Liberal and Labour party find oblivion for their little ditchwater corpse. It has served to carry the Liberals into power; it has served to bribe a way for those emasculates of the Labour movement, those enuchs of capitalism—Barnes, Hardie, Thorne, MacDonald and crew—a path to the vicinity of the flesh-pots of Egypt, and nothing more was required of it.

As for these Labour mumpers, some of them were inclined to set up a howl when the fraud of the "Lord's veto" was deliberately exposed to the view of the swindled electorate. In their anxiety to preserve their countenances they yelped. But their masters' eyes were upon them and they very soon shook off their distemper. They slept the night on it, and in the morning were foremost in finding excuses for the swindle. What else could they do? Disobey their Liberal masters and refer the case to their Liberal constituents? Not likely! They had been at some pains to solve the poverty problem—for themselves and in their own cases—and are no great believers casting their bread upon the political waters. So they turned to covering up their Liberal masters' treachery—which, by strange coincidence, was the only way of hiding their own. It was one of those "odd jobs in the Liberal workshop" it is their special function to execute with neatness and despatch.

And now we simply ask those to whom we have given warnings in abundance, to watch these leeches who are battenning upon their life's blood, and if their own eyes and ears will tell them nothing, then we may draw the blanket over ours and sleep—for they are hopeless.

## PARTY PARAGRAPHS.

Our SIXTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE will be held at Easter and promises to be satisfactory in every respect. A splendid suite of rooms consisting of two halls, cloak rooms, etc., have been secured at

FAIRFAX HALL,  
PORTLAND GARDENS,  
STANHOPE GARDENS,  
GREEN LANE,  
FINCHBURY PARK,

for Friday and Saturday, 25th and 26th March. Conference will commence each day at 10 a.m. On the Friday evening a SOCIAL EVENING will be held (doors open 7.30, commence at 8) and our North London Comrades guarantee a triumph.

The Hall adjoins Harringay Park Station (Midland), and is a 1d. tram ride from Finchbury Park Stations (Great Northern, Piccadilly and Brompton Tube, and Great North and City Tube).

Teas will be provided at the Conference at 6d. each, and catering will be continued throughout the evening.

\* \* \*

Socialists willing to join the proposed Kensington Branch are invited to communicate with

W. McCARTNEY,  
20, Manor Place,  
Walworth Road, S.E.

\* \* \*

Socialists in Croydon who desire the formation of a branch of the Socialist Party in that district, are requested to communicate with

P. G. BAKER,  
7, Corporation Road,  
Woodside.

\* \* \*

The debate between Mr. P. Alden, M.P., and our comrade Anderson has been arranged to take place on Friday, April 1st, at the Earlsmead Road Schools, Tottenham.

\* \* \*

Our Tottenham comrades are again contesting two Wards in the forthcoming District Council Elections and will win—ultimately, of course.

\* \* \*

Our exposure of the Social Democrats in our February issue seems to have caused a more than usually lively flutter in their camp, and while the truth of our statement is not denied, the endeavour is being made to discredit its worth by shouting "Tory newspaper!" It may therefore be as well to state that the "Coventry Sentinel" which we quoted is no more a Tory paper than is "Justice," the "Clarion," the "New Age," or the "Labour Leader." The following, taken from its leaderette on the S.D.P. will make this clear.

"Our readers will share the regret we feel that a wing of the Socialist party which once wielded a fair amount of influence has suffered the humiliation of rejected proffered services. In attempting to run in harness with a Liberal at Northampton, Mr. Quelch and the Social Democrats have made an unwise step. Their resolve not to fall from grace again comes too late. Jealous as we are for the honour of the movement, we deplore the decadence of the S.D.P., which appears to be due to a determination to secure office at any price."

—"Coventry Sentinel," 25.12.1909.

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## KROPOTKIN ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

—Continued from previous page.

secret society. He went so far as to put his faith in one single person, provided this person had a will strong enough to introduce Communism and thus save the world! (Page 491.) And so to the "Socialists" previously named it seems possible to reach Socialism by anticipating the workers' class-consciousness, by "giving" the proletariat something; promising them amelioration with their enemies in power, and being so near sighted as to imagine that the crux of the problem lies in getting the suffix M.P. at the end of their leaders' names, whilst the Socialist democracy is still in the making.

Kropotkin, on page 391 says: "Either there will be in the revolution (of the future) a day when the proletarians will separate themselves from the middle class; or this separation will not take place, and there will be no revolution." Now Kropotkin gives a detailed account of the position of Maximilian Robespierre. Robespierre was the tool of the third estate, the instrument of the newly wealthy, who were satisfied with the position they had obtained. He was not their hypocritical, conscious tool, for he was noted for his rectitude and sincerity. But he was doing their work, nevertheless, when he was annihilating the Herbertists and Montagnards; for during the Terror, Louis Blanc tells us, out of 2,750 executions only 650 were wealthy people. Robespierre guillotined his "more advanced" co-workers. Then the "more conservative" of the bourgeoisie soon despatched Robespierre.

Liebkecht, in his short treatise "No Compromise," says that the German Social Democrats have used opponents against opponents, but have never allowed their opponents to use them. Whether that be true or not, Kropotkin shows how during the French Revolution the proletariat were used by the bourgeoisie. At critical moments the poor were brought into the streets to fight and to terrify the royalists. But when the terrifying was done they were sent back to their hovels to be patient and starve, and when the royalists had been beaten, the bourgeoisie did all that was possible to destroy the proletarian organisation in the sections. When the armies returned from the frontiers the men of the Faubourgs were surrounded and disarmed.

Kropotkin also brings out beautifully the work of the unknown toilers in the Revolution, the unknown organisers in the sections, of the type of the Commune of eighty years later, who died fighting at the barricades shouting, "For the solidarity of Humanity." The Positivists set aside a day for the worship of "All the Dead," of all those heroes by whose efforts and sacrifices, hopes and ideals, a better world has been made possible. Is it too sentimental to suggest that we also, amidst times of hope and gloom, should give more than a stray thought to all those unknown comrades whose individually minute but collectively massive efforts have made Socialism something more than a Utopian dream.

JOHN A. DAWSON.

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## THE ORIGIN AND RISE OF CAPITAL.

While to-day, in the domain of natural science, the theory of evolution is generally accepted as the basis of research, the reverse is the case in the field of political economy. The reason is that natural evolution can be "squared" with individualism, but social evolution cannot. Natural organic development can admittedly be evolutionary without interfering with the "God-and-creation" idea which attributes the privileged position of the few to Omnipotent favour. Social development along evolutionary lines must, if logically and persistently traced, demonstrate most clearly that

## ALL MEN ARE SOCIAL PRODUCTS

and economic positions, therefore, merely the result of necessity and not of choice.

While orthodox political economy at the bidding of the possessing class, is at all times concerned to prove that capital and wage labour have existed through all history, the historic and economic teachings of Karl Marx, particularly the "Materialist Conception of History" and the "Theory of Surplus Value," supply ample evidence that capital and wage-labour are conditions of a social system of production forming but a comparatively small link in the great chain of social evolution.

In the "seventies" and "eighties" the orthodox political economists who set out to demolish the "pernicious" theories of Marx had not yet acquired the craftiness of present-day "economic experts," and therefore contented themselves with mere fairy tales to explain the origin of capital and wage-labour. Thus Wilhelm Roscher, professor of political economy at the University of Leipzig (until his death in 1894) wrote ("Principles of National Economy," Stuttgart, 1874, Vol. I. p. 423): "Let us imagine a fisher-folk without private property and capital, naked and living in caves, gaining their sustenance by catching with their bare hands sea-fish left behind by the tide in pools on the shore. All workers may here be of an equal standing, each catching and consuming 3 fishes a day. Now a wise man limits for 100 days his consumption to 2 fishes a day and uses the 100 fishes accumulated in that way to devote his labour-power for 50 days to the production of a boat and a fish-net. With the aid of this capital he commences in future to catch 30 fishes a day."

To-day, at the beginning of the twentieth century, however, the origin of and justification for the employment of capital are no longer ascribed by the economic prize-fighters of capitalism to the thriftlessness and laziness of the many and the thrift and industry of the few. No, the mighty annihilators of Marxian theories of the Mallock school have to their own satisfaction, adopted the more profound explanation that it is the

## "DIRIGITIVE ABILITY"

of the few and not the mere labour of the workers which creates the greater portion of capital and is the most important factor in wealth production; and, strange to say, they draw the deduction that this factor can be and is supplied by the capitalist class alone.

But European history from the 14th century explains the primitive accumulation of capital in quite a different way. Some bourgeois historians have described it from the standpoint essential to the glorification of capitalism. It was left to Karl Marx to explain it from the standpoint of the proletariat.

The literary advocates of the bourgeoisie at times described the rise of capitalism correctly in order to impress upon the workers the bourgeois standpoint that the struggle of capitalism against feudalism was a struggle against tyranny and privilege—a fight for liberty and equality. These capitalist scribes then rightly point out that industrial capital could not rise without "free" workers—workers who had ceased to be under the domination of chattel slavery, serfdom, or the craft guilds. They also emphasise the fact that capitalist wealth production had to be freed from the fetters of feudalism, from the

## CLUTCHES OF THE FEUDAL LORDS.

Socialists have no reason to detract from the

importance of that struggle, considering that the capitalist class are most anxious to deny its character when they hear us now proclaiming the need for social revolution.

While a number of bourgeois writers contributed considerably to the records of the history of primitive accumulation, it was left to Marx and his life co-worker, Engels, to point out its significance from the working class standpoint. It was they who laid stress upon the fact that this accumulation spelt the creation of the proletariat and of capital itself. Marx, having already given in "The Poverty of Philosophy" some indications of the conditions that in England—the motherland of capitalism—prepared the way for primitive accumulation, furnished a full and lucid history of it in his great work, "Capital."

That fascinating history teaches us that, apart from the craft-guilds in the towns, the greatest hindrance to the rise of capital was the

## COMMON PROPERTY IN THE SOIL

by village communities. While such property existed proletarians in large numbers were impossible. Fortunately for capitalism, its development was considerably assisted by the feudal nobility. After the Crusades the production of and commerce in commodities, developed by leaps and bounds, increasing greatly the demand for goods made by the craftsmen and sold by the merchants of the towns for money. The feudal nobility, dependent for their existence upon the direct services of, or goods supplied by, their peasant dependents, began to develop a craving for money. The military power of the towns and princes precluded all possibility of robbing or extorting money from the merchants or craftsmen, while the very poverty of the peasants did the same in their direction. Hence they determined to become producers of commodities like the townfolk—to produce wool, corn and other products for money instead of for their own use only.

Such a change could only be brought about at the expense of the peasantry. These, reduced to serfdom, could now be driven from their homesteads, which were added to the adjacent territory of their lords and masters. And to complete the ruin of the peasants, the communally owned land of the villages standing under the suzerainty of the feudal lords, was turned into the latter's private property. At that time wool was much in demand by the textile undertakings of the towns. But the extension of wool production necessitated the turning of arable land into sheep runs. To accomplish this end a great number of peasants were

## DRIVEN FROM THEIR FARMS

by legal or illegal means, that is, either by economic compulsion or by the use of physical force. (For confirmation of Marx's statements on these points see H. de Gibbins' "Industrial History of England," pp. 40-57.) With the growth of the textile industry the number of expropriated and evicted peasants increased continually. Besides, the nobility dissolved their retainers, which had under the changed conditions ceased to be a source of power, but on the contrary had become a decided source of financial weakness. The Reformation, too, favoured the rise of capitalism by depriving the old, sub-tenants of their holdings of Church property, driving them out, in order to hand the same over, almost for nothing, to speculating farmers and citizens, thus forcing these sub-tenants, like the inmates of the suppressed monasteries, into the proletariat. (See de Gibbins' "Industrial History of England," p. 83, for confirmation on this point.)

By such means a large proportion of the country population was divorced from the soil, from their means of production, with the result that an army of proletarians was created—proletarians compelled, in order to live, to sell their labour-power to the highest capitalist bidder. The feudal lords were thus instrumental in paving the way for agricultural commodity production on a large scale, while at the same time supplying the capitalists of the towns with the wage-workers they so urgently needed.

The consequence of the wholesale expropriation of the peasantry in the 15th and 16th centuries in Western Europe, was general vagabondage, which threatened to overwhelm society, and, as a deterrent, cruel and heartless punishments

were meted out to vagabonds and paupers, such as whipping, branding, slicing off ears, and even death. Marx sums up the horror of this treatment as follows ("Capital," p. 761):

"Thus were the agricultural people first forcibly expropriated from the soil, driven from their homes, turned into vagabonds and whipped, branded, tortured by laws grotesquely terrible, into the discipline necessary for the wages system."

But while more workers were thus set "free" than capital could employ, the supply of efficient workers fell behind the demands of capital, as during the period of actual manufacture proper, which led to a division of manual labour, production depended upon workers who had gained a certain proficiency (in many cases taking years to acquire) in the various part processes. Besides, much more capital was needed for wages than for tools and materials. Hence with the accumulation of capital the demand for wage labour grew rapidly, while the supply of competent workers proceeded in much slower ratio.

## SKILLED WORKERS WERE VERY SCARCE,

and in great demand. The fact that they still retained the high notions of handicraftsmen made the wage-workers during the infancy of capitalism independent, defiant and often rebellious against the hard discipline and wretched monotony of capitalist production. Therefore, to obtain submissive workers, the capitalists had to introduce the same powerful authority by whose aid the peasants were expropriated, the land made private property, and the vagabonds and paupers tortured and murdered—the authority of the State. The most stringent legislation was enacted to fix a maximum wage, extend the working day, and prohibit combination of the workers. (See "Capital," Karl Marx, pp. 761-765; also "Industrial History of England," de Gibbins, pp. 71, 106 and 118.)

And how hypocritical was the cry of liberty, fraternity and equality of the French industrial capitalists at the time of the French Revolution was proved by the fact that as soon as they had conquered political power (mainly by the assistance of the workers) these "just" people instituted a bitter campaign for the abolition of the remainder of common land and for the strictest prohibition of any kind of labour combination. ("Capital," pp. 765-6.)

The foregoing historical survey explains how the proletariat, and subsequently a "surplus" number of wage-workers, were created and how they made possible the development of capitalism, which in its turn reproduced to an ever larger extent the proletariat and a "surplus" of wage-workers.

Another important question remains: whence originated the wealth which provided the

## NUCLEUS OF INDUSTRIAL CAPITAL?

The usurers' and merchants' capital inherited from ancient society played an important part in the middle ages. Ever since the crusades commerce with the near and far East had expanded, with the result that the merchants' capital had become concentrated in few hands. But usury and commerce were not the only sources which supplied the nucleus of industrial capital. Readers desirous of an explicit exposition of the historical development bearing on this point should study the brilliant chapters relating to primitive accumulation in Marx's "Capital." Here a quotation from that work (p. 775) summing up the various methods of this accumulation must suffice:

"The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skinned, signalled the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production. These idyllic proceedings are the chief moments of primitive accumulation. On their heels treads the commercial war of the European nations, with the globe for a theatre. It begins with the revolt of the Netherlands from Spain, assumes giant dimensions in England's anti-jacobin war and is still going on in the opium war against China, etc."

The different moments of primitive accumulation distribute themselves now, more or less in chronological order, particularly over Spain, Portugal, Holland, France and England. In



England at the end of the 17th century they arrive at a systematic combination, embracing the colonies, the national debt, the modern mode of taxation and the protectionist system. These methods depend in part on brute force, e.g., the colonial system. But they all employ the power of the State, the concentrated and organised force of society, to hasten, hot-house fashion, the transformation of the feudal mode of production into the capitalist mode and to shorten the transition. Force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one. It is itself an economic power."

The foregoing brief outlines of the brilliant history of the origins of capital demonstrate beyond doubt that primitive capital was the result of robbery, murder and rapine, and that therefore it is only to be expected that the orthodox political economists, the cat's-paws of the capitalists, should

#### LEAD AND SHUFFLE

to the utmost degree in order to prove that capital is the outcome of thrift and industry, or the result of the "directive ability" of the capitalists. And there is no reason for surprise in the fact that, in the face of the overwhelming evidence as to the origin and development of capitalism furnished by Marx, the political economy of the present orthodox school is averse to accepting the theory of evolution as the basis of its research. For pinned down to the glaring facts of history, it loses every vestige of argument against Marx's theory of value and his explanation of the origin of capital. Unfortunately the misrepresentations and lies levelled by the bourgeois economists, politicians and diplomats against the sound and irrefutable teachings of Marx, are still swallowed without much hesitation by the workers of this country. But we Socialists, as evolutionists and revolutionists, know that the failure of the capitalist quack remedies for the great social evils of to-day, must, in the long run, convince the bulk of the proletariat that their salvation is to be found in Socialism alone. H. J. N.

#### PROSPERITY AND UNEMPLOYMENT.

We have had recently, the great Liberal Press endeavouring to make political capital out of a so-called boom in trade. Let us accept their figures for it; and also their statement that trade has been booming for the last fifty years. It should be interesting to the worker to know how he fares when trade booms. Although not disputing that the condition of the workers is more favourable when the capitalist extends his markets, it should be noticed in the table given below, how reactionary is that extension. It will be seen that in ten years trade with foreign countries increased from 814 millions to 1,049, an increase of over two hundred millions. The estimated unemployed, who numbered 332,300 in 1899, rose to 1,320,000 in 1908. A ten year period of remarkable prosperity (judged by the trade returns and Income Tax reports). The capitalists' leading statistician, Mr. Chiozza Money, gives the number of workers as one-third of the whole of the population. He also states that unemployment returns made by trade unions represent the unemployment ratio of the country. This statement he backs up on pages 109-110 of "Riches and Poverty." Therefore it will be seen that the figures given below are not in the slightest degree exaggerated. They might, if given a little consideration by our fellow workers, serve to remove the false and futile hope instilled into them by our masters, that in the near future we shall have "more work." The following table is based on figures given in the "Daily News Year Book."

Year.	Trade.	Pop'n.	Workers.	Unemployment.	Per
		millions.		millions.	cent.
1899	814	40	13,330,000	332,300	2.5
1900	877	41	13,666,000	324,400	2.9
1901	869	41½	13,833,000	484,050	3.5
1902	877	42½	14,000,000	560,000	4.0
1903	903	42½	13,166,000	708,000	5.0
1904	922	43	14,333,000	972,640	6.8
1905	977	43½	14,500,000	797,500	5.5
1906	1,063	44	14,600,000	586,640	4.0
1907	1,163	44½	14,833,000	637,820	4.3
1908	1,049	45	15,000,000	1,320,000	8.8

J. R. R.

## NEWPORT—SALARIES.

THERE are quite a number of worthy folk who are under the impression that the passing of a resolution and its due entry in a minute book are acts at which despots tremble and cities crumble. They apparently, have yet to learn that without something in the nature of a big and weighty bludgeon behind, the passing of grandiose resolutions has about the same effect on the body politic as the explosion of an airball has on the firmament. With this preamble we will have a cursory (in every sense) look at the Newport Conference.

"Peace must be our watchword," was the Labour Party's reply to the German S.D.P.'s greeting. An unkind friend suggested that the first word should be "pieces," but there, printers are but human and it is certainly printed, "peace." My cynical intimate insisted that his view was supported by the undoubted fact that the only activity the Labour Party had displayed was when its salaries were threatened. He cited the Taff Vale decision, which practically brought the Labour Party into existence, and the recent Osborne case, which has again raised a howl in Labour politics. He also commented that before anything else was done at Newport, the question of salaries was given most careful consideration—in camera, of course.

However, to get on with it, how is this for a tit-bit? "There is a tendency which I observe with apprehension, to rely a great deal on the services of paid help in the constituencies." Thus Keir Hardie. Nowhere, we have been assured, is there such enthusiasm among the rank and file, such whole-hearted devotion to duty, such zeal and all the rest of it, as exists in the I.L.P. Perhaps the above is the explanation. Enthusiasm, at trade union rates, has attractions for a certain type. Zeal, as a commodity, we have long suspected. All the delegates of course said "here, here," and—will keep on doing it.

Another one. "We have maintained our independence unsullied," he said. "We have produced our own measures; we have made no bargains, arrangements or agreements, either in the House of Commons or out of it, with any party." With which facts we were conversant. Arrangement with the Liberal party was not necessary: one does not make bargains or come to agreements with oneself. The vehemence with which agreements have been denied—here and there only—during the recent election, is only paralleled by the clarity with which they glaringly confront the ordinary observer. Snowden and Barclay, each scratching the other's back on the same platform is one instance. In another column are a number of others.

I am afraid mere denial is not good enough: the facts are too patent. "The same influence which procured old age pensions, the provision of meals for school children, the Miners' Eight Hours Bill, and last but not least, the land clauses in the Budget, will, to put it mildly, be no less potent in this Parliament than it was in the last. The day may come when some new change of policy will be dictated by new circumstances, but for my own part I see nothing in the circumstance of the new Parliament which would justify us in budging in the slightest degree from the position that has made the party what it is."

That, of course, is Queer Hardie again. The foregoing and the recital of some lines from the "Marseillaise" literally brought the house down. So the line of inaction which has been so successful in the past is to be continued until—until the workers get tired of paying them £200 per year and the rest. They are not going to budge in the "slightest degree" from the position that has made them what they are. And what are they? To reply "God knows" would be untrue, because even Omnipotence must have occasional doubts. For all ordinary purposes they are an integral part of the Liberal party. They are as far removed from Socialism as Halley's comet. Proof? Some humorist at the Newport Conference proposed that candidates of the Labour Party be allowed to designate themselves Socialists. The *Daily News* (Feb. 11th) reports: "The conference refused to get warm about it, and after a few weighty words from Mr. Clynes, expressed satisfaction with the

status quo in an overwhelming vote—1,492 to 44."

Reader, scratch those figures in your notebook. Rub them into every meeting of the "Labour" crowd you run against. The next time that friend of yours speaks of the Labour Party as in any way remotely connected with Socialism produce your figures. Better still, present him with a copy of this number of the *SOCIALIST STANDARD* and show him the evidence adduced on another page.

The conference consisted of the usual wearisome repetition of previous years' resolutions, and laid down the inspiring rule for future action: "Keep on doing as we have done" until someone gets tired. Workers, we hope you are tired of paying £200 per annum for the provision of soft jobs for so-called labour-leaders, who spend what time is not occupied in touring the world, in passing windy resolutions which mean nothing, and in safe-guarding their salaries. WILFRED.

## REVIEW.

"The True Story of Jack Cade," by JOSEPH CLAYTON. (Frank Palmer, London. 1s. net.)

It is a great pity the volume under notice is not the work of a Socialist; one acquainted in some degree with the materialist conception of history. As a careful monograph upon the doings of a little known personage it has distinct value and is certainly corrective of the travesty of Cade set up by the immortal William, in "Henry VI." But—the inevitable but—Socialists would have welcomed a fuller reference to the material causes of the insurrection in preference to the simple narration of events. The evidence adduced by Mr. Clayton would appear to indicate that it was far from a rising of labourers, although the author himself is manifestly of the contrary opinion. Of Cade's ancestry and position little is known, but as Mortimer (as some called him) was "a good name for the rallying of the gentry," and as the squires took the lead in calling the men to arms, employing the parish constable for the purpose; and as further, Sir John Cheyne, Robert Poyning (uncle to the Countess of Nottingham), eighteen squires, seventy-four country gentlemen, many a yeoman and some five ordained church ministers, followed the camp to Blackheath, we are compelled to believe that Jack Cade's rebellion was another of those instances, dotted throughout history, where the toilers were called upon to break one another's heads in the interests of their lords and masters. This view is lent considerable colour by the fact that the period dealt with was that known as the "Golden Age of Labour," when in spite of the infamous Statute of Labourers, the wages of labour rose above the attempted restriction by legal enactment. The celerity with which the men of Kent disbanded and returned to their homes is also a noteworthy fact.

One hint we are given of a material basis for the rising, as thus: "Kent, too, had its grievances. Piracy swept the English Channel unchecked, and the highways were infested with robbers. Moreover, its trade was passing. Formerly there had been no better wool than that of Kent, but now the sheep of Lincolnshire and Shropshire, and of the Cotswolds, was found to give a better article." (Italics ours.) To which we would add *Verb Sap.*

One makes the interesting discovery in perusing the volume, that at least two of the "immediate demands" of the modern labour crowd were anticipated in the fifteenth century. We refer to Payment of Members and Graduated Income Tax. Ye gods! Nearly five hundred years ago and yet some people treat them seriously. Shall we call this condition of mind political atavism or does it masquerade under the plausible patronymic of "possibilism"? W. T. H.

#### THE NEW PAMPHLET.

### The CAPITALIST CLASS.

By KARL KAUSKY.

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CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS ISSUE.

## REVOLUTION'S REPLY TO REFORM.

The answer to "Arms for the Workers: A Defence of the Programme of the Social-Democratic Party." (E. C. Fairchild, Lon. Organiser, S.D.P.)

#### On a Workingman's Wages.

Under the above heading Mr. Fairchild tells us that the third objection usually preferred against what he is pleased to call a Socialist programme is that some of its proposals would decrease the cost of living and result in lowering wages to the detriment of the working class. He says that this objection is generally advanced by "those who claim some acquaintance with economic science," and declares that it "depends upon confusion of the amount of money the employer pays to the workman as wages with the amount or quantity of goods the workman can purchase with that money." The confusion, however, is with our critic, for when we claim that some of the proposals would cause wages to fall, we do so in the full knowledge of the fact that "The food, clothing, or other things which the workman can obtain for his money" (i.e., wages) "is the real wage paid to him for his labour." Nevertheless, if the money wage falls and buys less "food, clothing or other things," the fact remains that "real wages" have fallen, and this notwithstanding that the deficiency is made good by a dole from "the municipal authority or the Government." An argument which the revolutionary puts forward to show that the workers can be no better off for the so-called palliatives, is met by this bolster of capitalist politics with the retort that they will be no worse off! What a defence of the palliative programme of the S.D.P.! What a justification for this modern wandering in the arid Desert of Gobi, that after all the toil and travail of shifting a portion of their cost of maintenance from their employers' pay-bill to the municipal alms box the workers are no worse off! Such a defence is a complete surrender to our contention, yet the defence goes no further. An attempt is made, it is true, to exploit the eternal "if," but the result is ludicrous. "If," says Mr. Fairchild,

the money wage paid by the capitalist should fall by 5s. weekly, and the municipal authority or the Government provided the workman with goods or services to the value of 5s. weekly, the workman would not suffer any hardship. If the municipal authority or the Government supplied him with goods or services worth 6s. weekly, the workman would gain, though his wages fall by 5s.

If, if, if. But if the result of the "palliative" (in this case the "goods or services" supplied by the municipality or Government) is a fall in wages because it cheapens living, it is clear that the effect will be measured by the cause—in other words 6s. worth of "palliation" will be followed by a wage reduction, not of 5s., but, of 6s. There was no logical position for our reformer between absolute denial of the cause and full surrender to the effect, and when he states that the "third objection" is due to confusion of money wages and "real" wages, and that the loss in money wages is compensated by the dole, he accepts the argument of the cause and effect, confesses that his only defence against the "third objection" is that workers are no worse off, and so doing surrenders, with the worst grace he can, to our contention that they are no better off, and that their efforts have therefore been in vain.

#### And Englishmen's Homes.

The burden of this section is the housing problem. The proposal seems to be to provide the employers with homes for their workers at the expense of the landlord class. It is like the horse siding with his master in a demand for a free stable. But as our author says at the end of his previous section: "the source whence the workman draws his maintenance is a matter of no concern at all. The vital thing is that he gets maintenance." It is a matter of no concern at all to the workers who pays "the cost of the land . . . and also the interest payable to the lenders from whom the housing authority borrowed." Such charges are in the same category as taxes, which even S.D.P. literature proves are not paid by the working class. The maintenance of the workers as a class in a certain average degree of health and strength and efficiency is the first and indispensable charge upon the wealth produced by the workers. It is the vitally necessary condition without which the workers' power to produce wealth must cease. This degree of efficiency is determined by the degree of development and general conditions of production itself. The housing problem, then, is a problem for the master class. It is an important part of the problem how to provide the necessary maintenance of the workers with smallest possible call upon the latter's total wealth production. For the rest it becomes a tussle between the industrial capitalists and the landlords for the plunder of the fruits of the workers' toil. It is for this reason we find certain sections of the master class proceeding with municipal housing schemes and other sections opposing.

"If the money wages of labour were to fall by a sum equal to the reduction in rent—a decrease only possible if municipal housing was of stupendous magnitude . . ." next says the S.D.P. oracle. It appears then that we can have too much of a good thing—even of an S.D.P. "palliative"—and that the time may come when we shall find the reform mongers anxious to get elected to undo their own handiwork, to keep wages from falling by preventing municipal housing attaining "stupendous magnitude."

It would be interesting to know exactly what "stupendous magnitude" means. Where is the line to be drawn beyond which the reform cannot go without affecting money wages and why? If one municipal house, through its reduced rent, does not affect wages why should ten? If ten do not why should a hundred? If a hundred do not why should a thousand, or ten thousand, or a million? What is there in the last that is not contained in the first? Nothing. The difference between one reduced rent and a million reduced rents is simply the difference between one and a million—a quantitative not a qualitative, difference—a matter

of multiplication. Hence the effect of a million reduced rents can only be the multiplied effect of one reduced rent. This talk of the wage-reducing effect of certain "palliatives" only operating when the proposals become general, or "of stupendous magnitude" is rubbish, and comes fittingly from those who magnify a few municipally reduced rents into an important increase of "the amenities of the workers' lives," because they can see those reductions, but cannot understand an exactly equal and equally insignificant wage reduction because, as our author very felicitously puts it, they cannot know the things they cannot see.

One municipal house in every thousand houses in the London area would mean about a thousand municipal houses. We will not ask Mr. Fairchild if such a ratio would be of "stupendous magnitude." A two-shillings per week reduction of this thousand rents is a visible movement, because it is concentrated. If it resulted in an equivalent reduction in money wages of the actual tenants of these houses, that would be a visible effect. It would be two shillings a week off the earnings of each tenant if there was one tenant to each house. But if this wage reduction, instead of affecting merely the actual participants in the reduced rents, were spread over all the wage earners of the area, it would mean less than three farthings—not per week but—per annum reduction to each. Of how much more "stupendous magnitude" must this become before our "palliator" can see and therefore know it!

#### Luxuries a Necessity.

The "mixed thinking" of the reformer is shown by our opponents' remarks under the above heading. First declaring that "the supply and demand for labour regulates the wage that is paid," he proceeds to flatly contradict himself in the words: "the employing class . . . conspires to fix wages at a price sufficient to maintain the physical efficiency required for the production of average profits, . . ." Wages are the price of labour-power, hence to speak of the price of wages is to speak of the price of a price—which is idiotic jargon. Again, to regulate a thing is to control its movements, therefore that which is regulated is not fixed. Still again, to attribute control of wages on the one hand to competition in the labour market and on the other hand to conspiracy by the masters is taking idiot's license, to say the least. Two flat contradictions and a lunacy in three dozen words is not a bad performance.

Of course, by one who holds that wages are fixed by the conspiracy of a class yield profit, it is an easy transition to the argument that they can, by the conspiracy of another class, be fixed at such a level as to leave no profit at all (that they have ceased to become wages then need not trouble such free-and-easy economists). The first step toward this is for the workers to want more. "On first awakening," we are told, "workman demands more bread in return for labour" (how much of the "palliatives" confusion arises from ignorance of the fact that the workman does not sell labour, but labour-power?) "He will inevitably advance from that position into the struggle to acquire education, and refinement." So it seems that the source of the workers' troubles is that they haven't wanted anything. How then, are we to read the next sentence: "The standard of comfort held by the workers is the result of prolonged conflict with the capitalist class." If they have not wanted anything what have they been fighting for? Are we to suppose that their share of the "prolonged conflict" has been resistance to a beneficent capitalist class intent on forcing upon them "luxuries" they have not wanted?

A most fertile source of confusion is this spectre, "Standard of Comfort." Behind it lurks the idea that it is all to do with the resistance of the workers, and they have only to wish for and strive for a higher "standard of comfort" in order to get it. This is far from the truth. In all their long struggle with the master class the workers have never for a moment forgotten their appalling poverty, have never for a moment been without a desperate and feverish longing for a higher standard of living. If desire could have endowed with "luxury" the working class would be redolent of comforts. As a matter of fact all their powers of resistance are necessary to enable them to realise for their labour-power its plain, naked value, without any reference to the adjustment of that mystery of mysteries, the "standard of comfort." This resistance is common to all owners of commodities. They all sell as dear as they can, and according as the market is favourable to or against them, they now get a little more, anon a little less, than the value of their goods, but in the long run neither more or less than that value. Yet no one dreams of saying that if commodity-owners desired more for their goods they could get it. The same with the commodity labour-power. The owner's resistance, his determination not to part with it for less than the most he can get for it, is the presupposed condition which enables its value to find expression. The "standard of comfort," on the other hand, is one of the conditions of the determination of that value. The value must exist before it can find expression, therefore the conditions determining the magnitude of that value must come before conditions which enable the value to find expression in (in this instance) the wage. To say then, that "When no longer required to devote the same proportion of his wages to the purchase of absolute necessities, the workman . . . can be trusted to follow the methods of the middle and upper classes, who spend more when they have more to spend," is to take hold of the wrong end of the stick. The workers can never keep the suggested surplus because they have first satisfied "absolute" needs, but only because they have made "luxuries" equally with the so-called "absolute necessities," a first charge upon their wages. And this they can only do when their environment has rendered those "luxuries" so necessary that they are prepared to go without food rather than abandon them, and then they have become "absolute necessities" in the cost of producing labour-power, must therefore be embodied in its value, and eventually in wages.

All this is to say that the "standard of comfort" is merely the level of subsistence determined by the general conditions of production and the social and natural environment. "The gradual lowering of the cost of living," therefore, must leave the standard of living unchanged. The gradual lowering of the cost of working-class living is a constant factor in capitalist society, and it is accompanied by a steady decrease in the



**S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR MARCH.**

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	6th.	13th.	20th.	27th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30 T. W. Allen	H. Newman	J. Fitzgerald	J. E. Roe
" "	7.30 J. Fitzgerald	H. Martin	P. G. Barker	T. W. Allen
Earlsfield, Magdalene Road	7.30 J. Kemble	H. Joy	H. Martin	H. Cooper
Forest Gate, Sebert Rd.	11.30 A. Jacobs	H. King	A. Jacobs	H. King
Finsbury Park	3.0 J. Fitzgerald	A. Anderson	F. Dawkins	A. Anderson
Kennington Triangle	11.30 H. Newman	D. Fisher	J. Halls	H. Martin
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	" H. Joy	F. Dawkins	J. Kennett	F. Dawkins
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30 A. Anderson	J. Fitzgerald	H. Newman	J. Halls
Walsingham, Rilly Rd., Dulia	" H. Joy	H. Joy	T. W. Allen	J. Crump
Tooting Broadway	11.30 H. Martin	P. G. Barker	J. Roe	A. Barker
" "	7.30 H. Joy	A. Anderson	J. Kemble	H. Joy
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	11.30 R. Kent	T. W. Allen	H. Joy	A. Pearson
" "	7.30 A. Anderson	J. Fitzgerald	H. Newman	A. Anderson
Walthamstow, Hoe-st. Stn.	" F. Dawkins	T. W. Allen	A. Anderson	J. Fitzgerald
Wandsworth, Buckhold Road	8.0 P. G. Barker	J. Kemble	A. Barker	J. Kemble
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30 R. Fox	A. W. Pearson	D. Fisher	T. W. Allen
" "	7.30 T. W. Allen	J. Crump	H. Joy	J. Crump

**MONDAYS.**—Earlsfield, Magdalene Rd., 8.30. Queen's-square, Upton Pk., 8. Islington, Highbury, Cnr, 8.30.**TUESDAYS.**—Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m.**WEDNESDAYS.**—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Walham Green, Church, 8. Plaistow, Greengate, 8**THURSDAYS.**—Battersea, Princes Head, 8.0. Tottenham, St. Ann's Road, 8.30. Earlsfield,

Magdalene Road, 8.

**FRIDAYS.**—Paddington, Prince of Wales, 8.30. Tooting Broadway, 8.30.**SATURDAYS.**—Earlsfield, Magdalene Road, 7 p.m. Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m.

East Ham, Ruskin Avenue, 8.

proportion of the product of their toil which goes to the workers.

And if "the gradual lowering of the cost of living" does result in "the growth of new desires," what are these but new miseries to be endured, new whips to scourge them into submission, new chains to bind them to their benches and desks? The anxiety of the threatened is in proportion to the loss he is threatened with, and new wants can only add to the horrors of insecurity. Not all, not even the worst, perhaps, of the evil of the working-class position is contained in their actual poverty. Its most awful aspect is the utter insecurity, the growing precariousness of their hold upon the means of subsistence. To talk of "new desires" leading them to resist wage reduction is to ascribe the workers' present awful plight to the lack of desires. Heaven knows they have desires and needs enough, and are sufficiently conscious of them, to make such insulting mockery quite superfluous. The peculiar position of the working class decrees that necessity must precede means, hence the question of luxury can never arise for them.

A. E. JACOMB.

To be Continued.

**ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.****RECEIVED—**

"Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)  
 "Weekly People" (New York).  
 "Evening Call," (New York).  
 "Gaelic American" (New York).  
 "Western Wage-Earner," (Vancouver, B.C.)  
 "The Flame," (Broken Hill).  
 "Freedom," (London).  
 "Anglo Russian," (London).  
 "Voice of Labour," (Johannesburg).  
 "The International" (London).  
 "Civil Service Socialist" (London).

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KARL KAUTSKY.

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## THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

**OBJECT.**

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth and in the interest of the whole community.

## Declaration of Principles

### THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

**HOLDS**

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

That the Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

## APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

To the Secretary,

.....Branch, S.P.G.B.

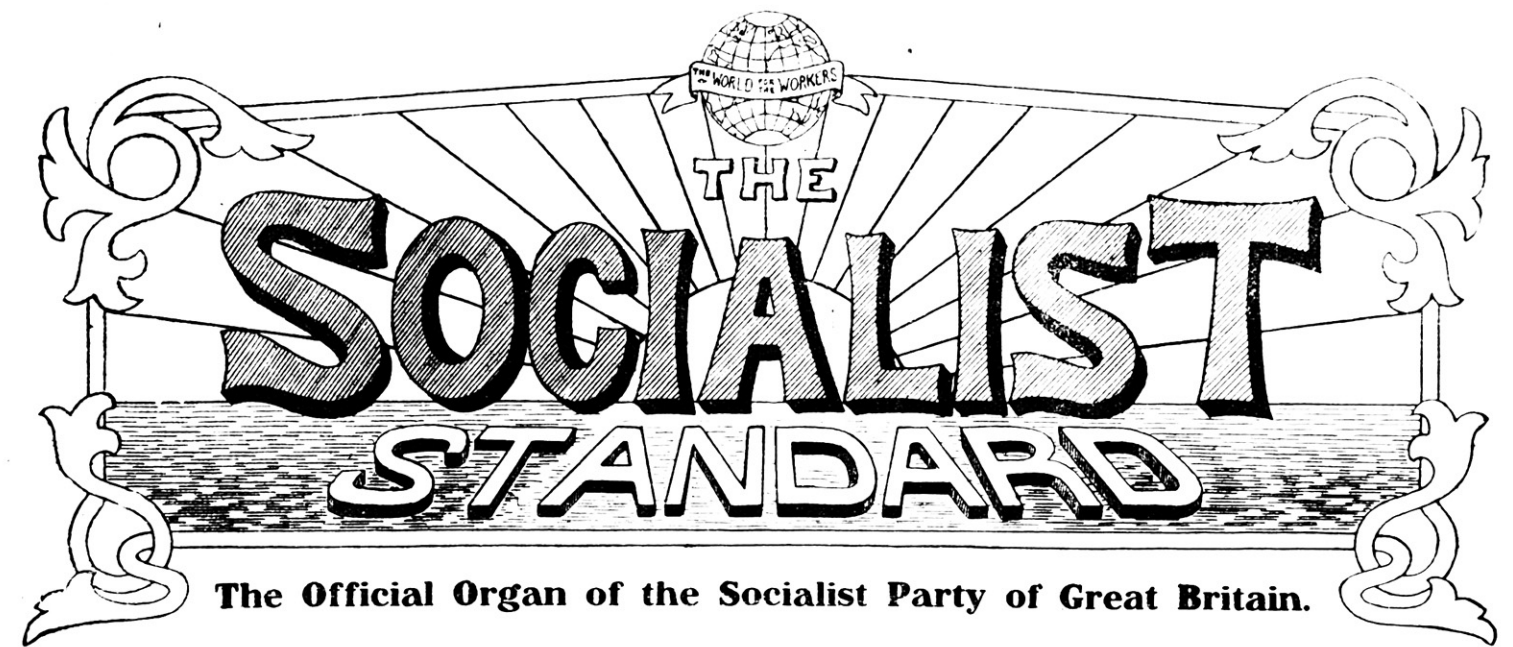
I hereby declare my adhesion to the above principles, and request enrolment as a member of The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

Signature.....

Address.....

Date.....

SPECIAL NOTE.—This form cannot be accepted if detached from Declaration printed above. The complete column must be handed to branch/Sec.



No. 68. Vol. 6.]

LONDON, APRIL 1910.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

## THE SOURCE OF VALUE. BOURGEOIS AND SOCIALIST THEORIES EXAMINED.

The proofs adduced by Marx in support of his contention that the origin and rise of capital can be traced, distinctly and indisputably, to robbery, fraud and violence, form only a small part, and by no means the most important one, of his profound investigations into social wealth production. The portions of his work describing so lucidly the processes of the reproduction and accumulation of capital are for the purposes of proletarian enlightenment of even greater value.

Marx's evidence as to the reproduction and accumulation of capital bears out completely his theories of Value and Surplus-Value. According to them only two factors exist in wealth production—natural objects and

SOCIAL, CO-OPERATIVE HUMAN LABOUR.

Capital is part of the social wealth, of which the workers have been robbed and which is invested by its owners for the purpose of further robbery.

Social, co-operative human labour applied to natural objects being alone necessary to produce wealth, it follows that the reproduction and accumulation of capital—a portion of social wealth—can exclusively be traced back to the exploitation of human labour.

The development of capitalist production causes ever-extending co-operation and productivity of labour, resulting in a gradual cheapening of human labour-power. Hence the proletariat, who alone produce all wealth, grow increasingly poorer, since their sole source of income is the sale of their labour power; while the idle owners of the means of production are accumulating more and more social wealth.

So soon as it is conceded that to-day social labour applied to natural objects is the only source of wealth, the claim to the means of production—capital in present-day Society—by its capitalist owners, can only be sustained on the ground of heredity or privilege.

Now whenever the possessing class find themselves in the dilemma of being faced by the irrefutable facts of history or economics, they mostly succeed, by means of their wealth, in getting the services of the

STRONGEST AND MOST CUNNING

of economic and political prize-fighters. But with the growing enlightenment of the toiling masses the attitude and methods of these "intellectual" pugilists undergo continual change.

Until a few years ago it sufficed for the capitalist class to oppose to the Marxian theory of Value (that labour applied to natural objects is the source of all Value) the utility theory of Jevons—according to which the value of an article depends upon its final utility, that is, upon how useful to the community another article of the same kind would be.

But as this final utility twaddle was exploded by Marxian writers and speakers, the theory

was superseded by another utility theory—that of the Austrian school—the theory of marginal utility, according to which "the value of an article is fixed when one is debating whether it is worth while to obtain it or not, the decision arrived at indicating the utility of an article on

THE MARGIN OF PRODUCTION.

viz., on the margin of doubt whether it be worth while to produce it or not."

These two value theories of utility have, however, with the aid of the Fabian theory of "the rent of ability," fully blossomed out into the "directive ability" so crudely championed by the capitalist economist Mr. W. H. Mallock, ("A Critical Examination of Socialism.")

Now while Marx in his "Capital" (p. 322) shows that "directive ability" is only "a special kind of wage-labour," the Fabians agree with Mr. Mallock that it is an entity apart from wage-labour, possessed by a class of "great men." Mr. Mallock considers that class to be the capitalist class. The Fabians hold that this ability is possessed by another—strange to say a third) class in society.

Mr. Bernard Shaw in *The Times* (2.2.1910) made an absurd onslaught on Mr. Mallock because of the latter's alleged distortion of the Fabian "rent of ability theory." Shaw, ignorant of economics, cuts a comic figure when he endeavours to instruct others in the subject. But this time he out-Shawed Shaw. Here is one of his

"UP-TO-DATE PEARLS OF WISDOM,"

taken haphazard:

"This is not a question of the difference between the Socialist and the anti-Socialist: it is a question between the gentleman and the cad. Lord Landsdowne has not asked for the hundred millions he saved Europe by making our treaty with Japan, and Lord Charles Beresford, if the German fleet attacked ours, would not refuse to conduct our naval defence unless the country were to be given to him as prize-money when he had saved it."

In order to flatten Mallock, Shaw hashes up his old balderdash, "Socialism and Superior Brains" in pamphlet form, and therein (p. 57) he gives the following definition of the Fabian theory of the "rent of ability":

"He (your skilled economist) does not romance about capitalists inventing Atlantic steamers: he shows you the capitalist and labourer running helplessly, the one with his money the other with his muscle, to the *able man, the actual organiser and employer*, who alone is able to find a use for mere manual dexterity or for the brute strength or heavy bank balance which

ANY FOL MAY POSSESS."

So ignorant is Shaw that he does not realise that his criticism of Mallock amounts only to the

pot calling the kettle black, and therefore tends to still further confuse the issues between Socialist and anti-Socialist.

Now Mallock states his conception of the theory of "directive ability" ("A Critical Examination of Socialism," p. 40) as follows:

"Though labour is essential to the production of wealth even in the smallest quantities, the distinguishing productivity of industry in the modern world depends not on the labour, but on the ability with which the labour is directed, and in the modern world the primary function of capital is that of providing ability with its necessary instrument of direction."

All this confusion as to what are the factors operating in wealth production and the functions of the capitalist, or whether "directive ability" is an entity apart from the labour-power of the working class, is dispelled, and

THE ISSUES CLEARED UP

by Marx in "Capital," particularly in those chapters dealing with "Co-operation, Manufacture and Modern Industry."

The main reason so many seekers after Socialist knowledge remain reformers is that they do not realise that man is a social product and that wealth production throughout human history has been based on co-operation. With a thorough grasp of these primary Socialist principles no proletarian can remain in ignorance of the meaning of social evolution and revolution. In his efforts to trace the history of man as a social product he will discover the fact that society is an organism with its own laws of development, and that the various stages of such development are determined by the evolution in the tools of production. And in his endeavour to gather evidence of the existence of the co-operative principle in human society, the worker will learn that the condition of the wealth producers depends entirely upon the ownership of these tools of production, that is, upon whether they are owned by the users, or by another class, to whom such ownership gives the power of exploitation and domination. He will also come to realise that a change in the ownership of the means of production cannot be brought about by any evolutionary process, but, on the contrary, must be accomplished, by the propertyless class.

BY A POLITICAL REVOLUTION.

In order to be able to show that "directive ability" does not exist apart from wage-labour it is necessary to briefly summarise and illustrate here what Marx has so minutely and exhaustively propounded in "Capital," particularly in the chapters on "Co-operation, Manufacture and Modern Industry."

In perusing such classical writings as "Ancient Society" by Lewis Morgan, "The Origin of the Family" by Frederick Engels, "The History of



Politics" by Jenks, and other works by avowed bourgeois authors we learn that the principle of co-operation has throughout history—under savagery, barbarism and civilisation—prevailed in the production of human sustenance. Already in primitive communist society—among the red Indians who lived mainly by the proceeds of the hunt, in the Indian village community that pursued principally agriculture for its maintenance, and in the patriarchal peasant family which produced its own means of subsistence—labour was organised on co-operative lines. Under chattel slavery, where the slave rendered personal service to his master, under feudalism, where the serf was attached to the land and worked part of his time for the maintenance of his master and the other part for himself, and under handicraft, when each handicraftsman used a set of tools of his own to produce an article right out, the

#### PRINCIPLE OF CO-OPERATION

was not obliterated but concealed.

As each producer was only able to produce a particular article of wealth, but required a variety of such articles for his sustenance, exchange of commodities was necessary, and through the principle of co-operation was hidden in the process of production, it was clearly brought to light in the process of exchange. After all, each commodity was the embodiment of one man's activities, and therefore by the exchange of one commodity for another the exchange of man's activities was continually taking place.

A close examination into the history of wealth production convinces us that Mallock and his supporters are speaking altogether contrary to fact when they assert that with the development of modern industry, the capitalists, the owners of the means of production, have developed a new factor, possessed by them, namely, "directive ability," to which can be traced the origin of the greater amount of wealth produced. The records of history

#### PROVE JUST THE CONTRARY.

Whether we take the evidence supplied by Marx and Engels on the one hand, or Adam Smith, Thorold Rogers and De Gibbins on the other, we find it all supports the contention that the owner of the means of production is only performing the function of superintendent in production while the same is in its infancy, that is to say, while it is in the stage of manufacture, where production is carried on with small primitive tools and by means of ever growing division of manual labour. And the aforementioned historians and economists further agree that as soon as machinery, steam and electricity are introduced into production, resulting in what we term "Modern Industry," the capitalists engage their superintendents of labour in the same way that they purchase ordinary labour-power. In the modern factory, workshop or other place of production, the average superintendent is not a capitalist but a wage-worker, commonly called a salaried official, who, having as a rule no property, is compelled

#### TO SELL HIS LABOUR-POWER

to the capitalist. It is true that the salary paid to such official contains not only the price of his labour-power as superintendent of production, but often includes his pay as "hustler," of the producers.

Marx, far from denying the need for a directing authority in modern production, emphasises the fact of its indispensableness. He writes in "Capital" (p. 821) "All combined labour on a large scale requires, more or less, a directing authority in order to secure the harmonious working of the individual activities, and to perform the general functions that have their origin in the action of the combined organism, as distinguished from the action of its separate organs. A single violin player is his own conductor; an orchestra requires a separate one."

But wisely Marx does not ascribe the ever growing productivity of co-operatively used labour to the directing authority, which, after all, is only a single organ of the social organism, and like all others, a social product, which society has nourished, clothed, taught and trained for the position it occupies.

And on the other hand, Marx does not ascribe, the increasing productivity to manual labour alone, but proves that all activities, physical and

mental, combined in one social co-operative mass, contribute to the production of wealth in society. To single out individuals—even the cleverest and most capable amounts to an allegation that a man can exist apart from and independent of society. These points

#### ARE BRILLIANTLY EXPLAINED

in the following passages in "Capital." On page 311 we read:

"Capitalist production only then really begins, as we have already seen, when each individual capital employs simultaneously a comparatively large number of labourers; when consequently the labour-process is carried on on an extensive scale and yields relatively large profits. A greater number of workers working together at the same time, in one place (or if you will in the same field of labour) in order to produce the same sort of commodity under the mastership of one capitalist, constitutes, both historically and logically, the starting point of capitalist production."

On pages 315-316 we are told:

"Just as the offensive power of a squadron of cavalry or the defensive power of a regiment of infantry is essentially different from the sum of the offensive or defensive powers of the individual infantry and cavalry soldiers taken separately, so the sum total of the mechanical forces exerted by isolated workmen, differs from

#### THE SOCIAL FORCE

that is developed when many take part simultaneously in one and the same individual operation, such as raising a heavy weight, turning a winch, or removing an obstacle. In such cases the effect of the combined labour could either not be produced at all by isolated individual labour, or it could only be produced by a great expenditure of time, or on a very dwarfed scale. Not only have we here an increase in the productive power of the individual, by means of co-operation, but the creation of a new power, namely, the collective power of masses."

And on page 319 Marx says:

"The combined working day produces, relatively to an equal sum of isolated working days, a greater quantity of use-values, and consequently, diminishes the labour time necessary for the production of a given useful effect," and further on:

"When the labourer co-operates systematically with others, he strips off the fetters of his individualism, and develops the

#### CAPABILITIES OF HIS SPECIES."

A cursory glimpse at capitalist production in modern times convinces us that the capitalist—the receiver of interest, profit and rent—has, as far as production is concerned, long ceased to fulfil any useful function whatsoever, and it is no exaggeration to allege that even the work of gathering in the interest, profit and rent is nowadays performed by paid menials—clerks, collectors or private secretaries. And if we occasionally find a capitalist seemingly engaged in work, closer enquiry always shows that his "work" amounts to nothing more or less than scheming how to more successfully exploit the workers. We possess, apart from the statistics of the enemy, practically no figures to prove how much surplus-value the capitalists are wringing from the toilers. The most recent census of production (1907) was taken deliberately to ascertain only the values produced and the number of workers employed in various trades. The Census Act particularly provided that salaries and wages

#### WERE NOT TO APPEAR

in the returns. But taking roughly the under-estimated figures of capitalist statisticians for guidance, the surplus-value wrung from the workers in this country approximates 75% of the wealth produced by them.

Now when we consider that the capitalists are not only useless members of society, but the worst of parasites on the social organism, with the result that millions of workers are either steeped in direct poverty or are on the brink of it, we see that the time has arrived when the toilers, realising their tremendous collective power both in the economic and political field, must consciously and revolutionarily organise for the overthrow of the parasite class and their own emancipation from wage slavery. H. J. N.

## THE SALVATION ARMY AND THE WORKING CLASS.

### II. THE "ARMY" IN TRADE.

"The army of friars should be absolute mendicants, keeping themselves sternly apart from all worldly entanglements. Within thirty years of Francis' death in 1226, the Franciscans had become one of the most powerful, wealthy and worldly corporations in Christendom, with their fingers in every sink of political and social corruption, if so be profit for the order could be fished out of it. Who is to say that the Salvation Army in the year 1920 shall not be the replica of what the Franciscan order had become in the year 1602?"—T. H. Huxley, "Social Diseases and Worse Remedies."

#### A Prophecy Fulfilled.

In its haste get rich quick "for God," the Salvation Army has literally fallen over itself, thereby justifying Huxley's forecast with ten years to spare.

It must be borne in mind that the Booth trading concerns are a religious growth, carefully to be distinguished from those undertakings to which the "Social" Scheme has given birth.

"Each territory or country," we are told, "has its own trade department, but that connected with International headquarters . . . buys and manufactures largely for overseas territories." In the early days of the "Army" a penny song-book and monthly magazine were published. The latter afterwards became the "War Cry." Later on "certain articles of uniform were required by our officers. These being difficult to procure elsewhere, we had them prepared and sold them ourselves. From these modest efforts the present trade operations—in their large and ever-increasing proportions—sprang."\*

We are further assured that "trading is now a Salvation Army necessity," and that "the 'Army' must buy and sell."

#### Wage-Slavery for God.

After this authoritative pronouncement, if any doubting Thomas yet remains, he is passified by being told that "the entire profits are devoted to the extension of the spiritual work. Sovereigns mean souls. The trading is done for God, and the aim of the 'Army' is that strict truth and righteousness actuate every transaction. Every Salvationist ought, therefore, to buy all he needs or can from the Trade department."

Let us glance at what is being done "for God."

In addition to religious publications and uniforms, the official list of articles sold includes among others too numerous to mention:

Women's dresses.	Sewing machines.
Men's and children's suits.	Furniture of all kinds.
Drapery.	Bicycles and mailcoats.
Hosiery.	Printing, bookbinding and stationery.
Boots and shoes.	Books.
China and glass.	Watches and clocks.
Earthenware.	Bags and portmanteaus.
Cutlery.	Underwear.
Pianos and organs (hire system).	Bread—families waited on daily.
Flannelette and "Non-Flam."	Tea, coffee and cocoa.
	Etc., etc.

#### The Heavenly Whiteley.

Here we have (in this extract from an official trade department catalogue) proof positive that the "Army" thinks it is justified in competing with the ordinary tradesman in the supply of almost everything, by taking advantage of its peculiar position, reputation and influence.

Moreover it is not only to "members" that the goods in which it deals are supplied. The circulation of the "War Cry" and "Social Gazette" is mainly amongst a class of folk who, whilst perhaps in sympathy with the Salvation Army, are not actually members of that body. Specious advertisements in both the journals referred to, constantly invite the reader to apply for this or that particular trade list or catalogue. In these advertisements all the well-known catchpenny devices for attracting "business" are employed. The following is an example—one out of many. It speaks for itself.

\*Salvation Army Year Book, 1907.

### \*OUR CHRISTMAS GIFT TO YOU.

Christmas is the season for giving. The custom has suggested our doing something for our friends which may add a drop to the cup of gladness which we hope will come full to the brim to all our customers this Christmas time. To make a direct gift would be impossible, however great the desire to do so. We propose to do something, however, that will, we hope, be regarded as almost, if not quite, as acceptable to those able to participate.

### FIVE USEFUL AND SERVICEABLE ARTICLES AT HALF-PRICE.

- A. A pair of Trousers, usual price 11s., for 5s. 6d.
- or B. A Woman's Honeycomb, Jersey Blouse, usual price 5s. 6d., for 2s. 9d.
- or C. A pair of Men's 'Fortress' Boots, usual price 9s. 11d., for 4s. 11½d.
- or D. A pair of Women's 'Favourite' Boots, usual price 8s. 11d., for 4s. 5½d.
- or E. A Girl's Winter Coat, usual price 7s. 6d., for 3s. 9d.

#### HOW IT IS DONE.

1. One of the Half-Price Articles supplied with every order not less than £1 in amount, not counting the half-price article, cash for which must be sent in addition. Customers may send as many £1 orders as they wish. For every such order is given the option to purchase one of the half-price articles.

2. The goods to be selected from our Uniform and Outfit Catalogue, or from our Christmas Sheet of

#### USEFUL PRESENTS

which will be sent FREE ON APPLICATION.

Under the cloak of religion then the strongest possible appeal is made to the prospective customer's love of—not God, but—a good bargain.

#### How it IS done.

It is moreover the duty of the "field-officer" (wage-slave commanding a religious corps) to take a lively interest in the trade, push it and try to increase it as much as possible. He must announce the visits of Trade Headquarters' representatives . . . and afford every facility . . . for getting into touch with his soldiers and friends. These poor wretches are so badly paid (18s. a week if unmarried and 27s. a week if married) that they are forced to push the sale of goods.

For this they receive commission. And mind you, the wages are only paid *after* all the local expenses of the corps have been met. In case the unfortunate officer, for some reason or other, is unable to meet the weekly expenses, he gets practically no wages at all. A pretty picture, forsooth. Enough to make one's blood boil. The harassed victim of the malpractices of Booth & Co., forced to undersell and cut the price of commodities which have themselves been produced by sweated labour. And this in good "Salvationese" is called "earning a sovereign for the Kingdom of God!"

#### Booth and Boots.

Apropos of underselling, a quotation from the "Army's" boot and shoe catalogue makes interesting reading:

"The following argues in favour of the low price of our boots:

The representative of a manufacturing firm remarked recently that we were selling a certain class of their boots 1s. 9d. per pair less than they were to be obtained at several shops mentioned by him. We were ignorant of the prices of any of the goods sold by the retailers mentioned . . . Any idea of "cutting" the price was, therefore, quite out of the question, showing that either we buy better or are content with smaller profits."

The official apologist does not tell us which of these two factors—the "Army's" ability to buy better or its being contented with smaller profits—determines the price of boots.

Possibly a jocular remark made by "General" Booth when about to leave for America (Sept. 1907) may throw a little light on the subject.

"If you are not willing to be sweated," said he, "don't have anything to do with the Salvation Army."

The pious old jester referred to the "field-officers" in the religious work, but inasmuch as we are told that "the trading is done for God" it is quite likely—if the truth were known—not so easy to come at that same truth that

\*"Social Gazette," Dec. 4, 1909.  
†Orders and regulations for field officers, 1904.

the workers and distributors in the "Army" trade departments are not paid such handsome salaries as obtain in shops and stores, where profit is the primary consideration and "God" has to be content with a back seat (or shelf) for six days in the week. These factors will probably be found to have some bearing, not only on the price of the "Army's" boots, but upon its successful competition with the ordinary labour market.

And at this point we are brought face to face with the crux of the whole matter.

#### The Cheap-Jacks of Religion.

Is the Salvation Army able to create a new or increased demand for the commodities it supplies through the agency of its huge religious staff? If it is not, then the effect of its participation in the production and distribution of such commodities must necessarily diminish the demand for goods which are produced under the ordinary conditions of the labour market.

In proportion as the "Army" increases its production of those commodities more workers will be employed (by the "Army"), under especially bad economic conditions, and fewer will be the number of those employed (by the ordinary capitalist) at ordinary wages.

The following is taken from the cover of a juvenile clothing catalogue issued by the "Army," and will serve to give some slight idea as to whether the "Army" is creating a new demand or merely competing with and underselling the ordinary market:

"I am a representative of the Salvation Army Outfit department . . . I am glad that I belong to the Salvation Army, as people will not only listen to what I say, but will know they can believe what I tell them. I am devoted to the selling of children's clothing. Every moment of my life, night and day, is given up to it. I am in every way up-to-date, although it is myself that says it . . . I am not afraid of the keenest competition. Compare my prices with those of other sellers of juvenile clothing. I shall like it, and have no doubt about my coming out on top."

With the "Army's" launching out into the wholesale and retail tea and coffee business—its incursion into many other departments of trade—we have, unfortunately, no space to deal. For fuller details of this interesting subject we must commend on readers to Mr. Manson's work.

#### The "Flannel" Fraud.

But as a final illustration of the lengths to which this hydra-headed monstrous fraud is prepared to go in its desire to "sell," the story of the "flannelette" is too good to be passed over. We accordingly rescue it from an undeserved oblivion, leaving it to our readers for judgment.

On September 22, 1906, a column advertisement appeared in the "Social Gazette." This took the form of an "Open letter to Parents" signed by Lieut. Col. Simpson (the "Army's" trade Secretary). Big black capitals were splashed all over the page directing urgent attention to the dangers incurred by little children from the use of ordinary flannelette—"1,500 children burned to death in 1905—Save the little ones," etc., etc.

"Your duty then is plain," said the worthy Colonel, "send for the Army's 'Non-Flam,' an excellent safety flannelette . . . Your duty is plain . . . Not to use for the precious little ones the dangerous fabric which has been the cause of so much suffering and death."

Now the colonel's own department had been selling ordinary flannelette for years before the date on which this advertisement appeared. It is, to say the least, remarkable that his department continued to advertise it even after the discovery and adoption of "Non-Flam." Six months later we find a drapery catalogue advertising—yes—"Non-Flam," but giving precedence and nearly three times the space to flannelettes at 2½d. to 3½d. per yard!

None of these were described as non-inflammable. People were even urged to write for patterns of these dangerous materials as being "of exceptional value" "cheaper than many leading drapers," etc.

Apparently Colonel Simpson's principles were his own and could, therefore, be sacrificed. The remainder of the flannelette was Booth & Co.'s, and could not!

Fritz.

(To be continued.)

### AN ECHO OF THE PAST.

In the year 1840 Thomas Cooper, the Chartist agitator and poet, whilst acting as a newspaper reporter, was sent to take notes at a Chartist meeting in the Midlands.

At this meeting one John Mason made a speech to the crowd. So much of the speech as has come down to us makes such curiously familiar reading in the light of our present-day knowledge, that we feel we owe our readers no apology for reproducing it here.

It shows that some Chartists, although working in a fog, and unable to see further than the ends of their noses, were at least conscious of one thing—that in order to gain their ends it was necessary for them to stand by their own class and steadfastly eschew alliances on the political field. Of how many so-called Socialists can the same be said to-day?

Labour members and all who are "pro-Budget," please note John Mason's remarks:

"Not that Corn Law repeal is wrong. When we get the Charter we will repeal the Corn Laws and all the other bad laws. But if you give up your agitation for the Charter to help the Free-Traders, they will not help you to get the Charter. Don't be deceived by the middle class again. You helped them to get their votes—you swelled their cry of 'The Bill, the whole Bill and nothing but the Bill!'"

"But where are the fine promises they made you? Gone to the winds! They said when they had gotten their votes they would help you to get yours. But they and the rotten Whigs have never remembered you. Municipal Reform (!) has been for their benefit—not for yours. All other reforms the Whigs boast to have effected have been for the benefit of the middle-classes—not for yours. And now they want to get the Corn Laws repealed—not for your benefit—but for their own."

"'Cheap Bread' they cry! But they mean 'Low Wages.' Do not listen to their cant and humbug. Stick to your Charter. You are Veritable slaves without your votes!"

Shade of brave John Mason, we of the Socialist Party of Great Britain salute you!

\* When Lord John Russell's Reform Bill was thrown out by the Lords on Oct. 8th 1831, riots broke out all over the country. At Birmingham a local Radical named Attwood formed an association of 200,000 members, who swore to march on London and use force if their cry of "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill," was denied.

The Reform Bill carried in 1832 did away with the boroughs and gave the franchise to the shop-keeping class in the towns, and in the rural districts to the farmers and yeomen.

† "Municipal Reform." The Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 substituted an elective constitution in place of the old unrepresentative bodies, which co-opted each other and were worked by small and corrupt party or family rings.

The receipt of a copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

## MANIFESTO OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Fourth Edition with preface.

Explains the Party's position toward the S.D.P., I.L.P., Fabian Society, Trade Unions, S.L.P., etc.

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### The CAPITALIST CLASS,

By KARL KAUFMAN,

Is now ready and can be obtained from the Head Office. Price 1½d. post free.



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All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions for THE SOCIALIST STANDARD, articles correspondence and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed, The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 10, Sandland Street, London, W.C. to whom Money Orders should be made payable.

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Twelve Months	50 cents.
Six "	25 cents.

## The Socialist Standard,

FRIDAY,



AP. 1, 1910.

## The "Practical" Politicians.

HAD the Labour Party intended to show the rank and file of its members how much it is in the hands of the Liberal Party, it could scarcely have shown it better than in its action over the Veto question.

At the General Election all their candidates were desperately anxious to appear as supremely "practical" politicians, and to avoid frightening the voters by standing as representatives of the working class. To occupy the latter position would mean running as Socialists, and laying before the workers the opposition of interests that exists between employer and employed. But such an attitude is denounced by these "Labour leaders" as "unpractical," "impossible," and in other terms that are found so useful when argument has failed.

Therefore they went before the electorate with such a splendid position that Mr. Snowden said in the "Daily News" (3.2.10):

"The demand for social reform which the Labour Party's persistent propaganda work has created has expressed itself very considerably at this election by votes given to Liberal candidates even against Labour candidates, because the Liberal Government was believed to stand for all that was immediately practical in the Labour Party's programme."

Mr. A. Peters, National Agent of the Labour Party, also said:

"the questions of the Lords' Veto and the Budget were almost identical with those of the Liberal Party; or to put the point in another way, it was rather too much to expect 'the ordinary man in the street' to pick out the distinction."—"Labour Leader," 4.2.10.

Practical politics up to date! Arrange your programme so that the ordinary voter will be persuaded, by that programme, to vote for your supposed opponents, and you will have won political distinction and a reputation for hard-headedness.

But were they opponents? Curious that opponents should occupy positions so much alike that the voters can see no difference. Like a flash however comes the answer when Parliament meets. A few days before a rumour goes round that, as is usual with the Liberals, their election cry is to be dropped and the "great Lords' Veto" is to be indefinitely postponed. The chairman of the Labour Party makes a public statement that his party will not be satisfied with such a position. When Parliament meets Asquith confirms the rumour. "What he has said he has not said." The Irish party kick up a row, and here, apart from the merits of the Veto, the Labour Party could have scored a tactical point by keeping their election pledges and refusing to support the Government. Instead they showed their complete subjection to the Liberal party by supporting Asquith. Not only do they back up the Government in breaking its pledges, but every Labour Member deliberately

broke his own election pledge for the purpose of assisting the Liberal party!

Yet the cup is not full. Scarcely has this of the unity of Liberal and "Labour" been given than Asquith, under pressure from the Irish, withdraws, and promises, more or less, to take the Veto before the Budget, and the Labour Party are left wondering how they are to find excuses for their position. Mr. Clynes tries some word-spinning in the "Labour Leader," but even that journal has to admit that "the Labour Party has failed to make the most of one of the most magnificent opportunities history can record."

This on March 4th. On the 7th Ramsay MacDonald moved an amendment on the Army Estimates, regarding wages and conditions of employment in the Government departments. On Tuesday after a long debate Mr. Haldane promised that if anyone said they were not acting up to the spirit of the (Fair Wages) resolution they would refer it to the same tribunal as in the case of contractors. Instead of refusing to take this promise the Labour Party were prepared to withdraw the amendment and leave the Government as free as before. But the Tories forced a division—then fifteen of the "practical" politicians voted for the Government and against their own amendment! Only three voted for it, the rest (including the mover) did not vote!

What further proof can the most hardened Labourite demand of the asinine stupidity and deliberate treachery of the "practical politicians" of the Labour Party?

## S.D.P. COMPROMISE.

THE exposure of S.D.P. trickery at the recent General Election contained in the SOCIALIST STANDARD for February, has naturally occasioned no little consternation among the leaders of that organisation, who are using their utmost endeavours to prevent the truth being known. This is not surprising, as the truth convicts them of conniving at a shameful betrayal of the working class in an attempt to obtain the plums of office. Unfortunately for them, however, the evidence even from their own publications is overwhelmingly against them. In *Justice*, their official organ, as far back as December 11th, 1909, the following statement appears:

"We are inclined to accede to the claims of the Ministerial journals and politicians that in the present contest we should be content to waive every other consideration and make the question of the House of Lords the supreme issue and therefore avoid all division of the forces which might be arrayed against the House. We are all for showing an undivided front against them. The Liberals, therefore, can demonstrate the sincerity of their present attack upon the House of Lords by withdrawing all opposition to Socialist and Labour candidates and by helping their return wherever they may be put forward."

A similar invitation to the Liberal wing of the capitalist party for an alliance appeared in the same journal for November 29th, 1909. Having begun so well they continued in the same direction, as an examination of the facts of their Northampton contest will amply prove. First of all, as the *Labour Leader* (17.12.09) points out, there were two S.D.P. candidates, to wit, J. Gribble and H. Quelch, adopted by the local branch, but the Executive would only sanction one. The branch thereupon at a specially convened meeting selected Gribble, which selection the Executive duly squelched. The *Labour Leader's* comment throws some light on these manoeuvres. Here it is:

"There was only one Liberal candidate in the field and the Liberals had made it known that if the Labour Party selected a candidate they would not nominate a second. Now as it happens there is no Labour Party in Northampton, so the way seemed clear for Mr. Quelch getting the second Liberal vote."

From that time until the second Liberal candidate was introduced we had one long and pitiful attempt on the part of Quelch and Co. to make themselves acceptable to the local Liberals. From the *Northampton Pioneer*, the organ of the Northampton S.D.P. (18.12.09) we call the following:

"At their meeting on the evening of Monday, Dec. 6, the members of the S.D.P. in Northampton came to the decision to run Comrade H. Quelch for the General Election, and to put forward J. Gribble as their second delegate if the Liberals adopted a candidate in addition to Mr. H. B. Lees-Smith."

Which, of course, is equal to saying to the Liberals, "You stand by us and we'll stand by you." They then give a straight tip to the Liberal electors, as witness: "The Socialist candidate is one who ought to command the most enthusiastic support not only among Socialists, but also among all others who are sincerely and wholeheartedly desirous of political and economic progress." Under the heading "The Town Hall Meeting" in the same paper, there is an interesting exhibition of vote-catching word jugglery on the part of Quelch. A few specimens might be useful, so here they are. Mr. Griffin, a local Liberal, asked, "Are you willing to support the Radical party if they are willing to support you as a party?" To that Quelch replied "That appears to me to go without saying." Mr. E. Morgan asked: "Would you vote for the Budget?" Quelch answered: "There would be nothing else to do. If we cannot get anything better than this Budget, I shall vote for the Budget."

Asked as to his attitude, if elected, toward the Labour Party in the House of Commons he said: "My attitude would be, what it has been outside, one of perfect friendship. I am a member of the Labour Party. I am on terms of perfect friendship with the Labour Party. I should go to the Labour Party and say 'I am perfectly prepared to receive your whips and co-operate with you.'"

"Can a conscientious member of the S.D.P. support Mr. Lees-Smith?" was another question addressed to Mr. Quelch. We invite our readers to mark well the answer:

"My reply to that question would be absolutely in the affirmative. There can be no conscientious objection to voting for Mr. Lees-Smith or anybody else occupying his position. There is no pledge that a member of my party may not vote for anybody whom he thinks fit to vote for. But no member may publicly support a non-Social Democrat without the consent of the Executive."

Doubtless with a view to explaining or excusing this reply the following note is added: "When this reply was given there was one Socialist and one Liberal in the field."

The grim humour of the situation lies in the fact that in the same issue the Labour Party leaders are denounced for their "treacherous compromise," while Snowden especially came in for censure for being willing to save the Budget from being smashed by the Tories. It is somewhat interesting to observe, in passing, the beautiful unanimity of Quelch and Hyndman on the Budget. Hyndman, writing in the *Burnley Pioneer* (Feb. 1910) explaining his defeat, says that he refused point blank to back the Budget. However, we must not pursue these comparisons, though they do provide some curious complications.

The *Northampton Pioneer* for December 1910 also reports a meeting held in St. George's Schools to further Quelch's candidature, and from it will be seen that the S.D.P.ers used every possible method, from threats to cajolery, to secure the support of the Liberal party. Quelch reiterated his statement that he was prepared to help the Liberals if they would only show their sincerity by assisting him into Parliament. Gribble spoke of the mutual dependence upon each other of the two parties. Neither side, he claimed, could get in without the aid of the other. Appealing to the Liberals for unity he said, "If they are prepared to give us an opportunity to fight side by side with them in defence of the Constitution we will do so, though we cannot have anything to do with their platform."

Councillor Pitts, who seconded the vote of confidence in Quelch moved by Gribble, said that "though the Radicals and Socialists were fighting on two different platforms, they were united on the two great issues—the abolition of the House of Lords and opposition to Tariff Reform." Mark the "two great issues." Socialism, evidently, doesn't count.

Quelch's election agent, the notorious J. J. Terrett, thrice expelled from the S.D.P. in the days when it made occasional efforts to purge

itself of noxious matter, thus unburdened himself:

"It came as a very pleasant surprise to me to read in the local Liberal paper that there should not be this double-barrelled, three-cornered fight but that each of the Progressive forces should put forward one man—that they should rally to return, without any sacrifice on either side, their respective champions in this contest. I say it was with great pleasure I saw that. I believe I can say for my colleagues that they were gratified by reading that article. If they wreck us now we start after this election with two men and we don't argue with them any more. The Liberals can, by taking the step that has been suggested by their own organ, divide the representation between the two wings of the progressive forces. Such an arrangement might stand for years, as in the case of Charles Bradlaugh."

But appeals and threats were alike unavailing for the Liberals, realising that the S.D.P. had nothing—not even principles—to sell, refused to bargain with them. The S.D.P. now made a virtue of necessity and introduced a second candidate. Quelch now stated (vide "Pioneer" Jan. 8th) that "he was glad that the fight was to be a straight one on class-conscious lines." Even at this juncture, however, they did not despair of securing Liberal working-class support, as the ingenious bid for such support indulged in by Gribble and reported in the local "Socialist" organ (Jan. 8th) shows. Referring to Quelch he says "I do not think there are many Liberals who would deny his capability of putting the really Radical position on political questions, in opposition to either Whig or Tory."

The foregoing are typical examples of the many miserable shifts resorted to by the S.D.P. men in their desire to get in, and they show that unquestionable as may be the qualifications of Quelch & Co. to put the Radical position, they could not be expected to put the Socialist position on any question under discussion. In the circumstances it is not surprising that Quelch was absent from the recent Labour Party Conference, where he generally plays the part of the "straight" man. But the attempted "deal" in Northampton, although the most impudent, was not the only treacherous move they made. In Haggerston Mr. Herbert Burrows, who distinguished himself at the bye-election in that division by angling for Liberal support, fully sustained his reputation in that direction by waiting in his election address about the "split progressive vote," and assuring all and sundry that the "grave responsibility for this state of affairs" did not rest with him.

By this means and by a letter in the same strain sent to the *Daily Chronicle* (Jan. 6th) he managed to rope in a curious variety of supporters, as a list which appeared in (enumerating people of almost every shade of political and religious thought outside of Socialism) would show. For the rest we find Hyndman coquetting with the jingoes at Burnley, accepting the aid of Blatchford and advocating a stronger Navy—this latter forming a striking contrast to Burrows' plea for a limitation of armaments.

All the candidates pinned their faith to the abolition of indirect taxation as a means of removing the burden of taxation from the workers' shoulders. This in spite of the fact that even Quelch and Belfort Bax show in the S.D.P. pamphlet "A New Socialist Catechism" (and as is shown in numerous other of their party's productions) that taxation reform is no concern of, and does not affect, the worker. In short, their work on behalf of confusion at the election provides one more chapter of working-class betrayal to be added to the many which are contained in the annals of the S.D.P., and again completely justifies our attitude of hostility toward it.

R. F.

BURNLEY BRANCH,  
S. P. G. B.

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS.  
HELD IN THE  
MARKET PLACE EVERY SUNDAY  
EVENING AT 7.30.

QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION INVITED.

EVOLUTION & STATE  
CAPITALISM.

Is a society based upon private property—one in which the people of property have become a minority monopolising the means of life, and running the property State to exploit the people of no property, one rather expects this latter class to see that all political changes made in the property State must be changes to increase and render more efficient and persistent the exploitation of the worker.

But not so to-day decide the working class, the people of no property. Rather they believe that while the other class continues to hold the means of life and control the powers of State, they may yet, by sending to Parliament plausible reformers who have never troubled to sift the laws of Capitalism, cause the capitalists to forget their business, and force them to allow reforms inimical to their own interest and to the advance of the workers. They overlook the fact that it is the capitalists themselves who initiate the changes in the details of capitalism which are called reforms, and that these working-class reformers are easily bought over, and made to dance to the capitalist tune.

We are told that to believe that no changes of capitalism can improve the economic position of the workers is to fly in the face of evolution, but what on earth is meant by the term?

Since Darwin propounded his theory of the unfolding of plants and animals from a few simple life forms, and of the increase of these by the natural selection and preservation (on the basis of the survival of the fittest in the struggle for subsistence) of favourable variations from the common stem, a theory which became popularly known as "evolution," we have been confronted with this word in every domain of knowledge—by people who know as much about it as the old lady knew about "that blessed word Mesopotamia."

Accepting Darwin's theory that Nature's way of unfolding is by variations from a few life forms, selected through the struggle of the Ego with its environment, this affords us no clue as to the purpose of Nature in her unfolding, or evidence that there is any purpose.

Yet from the moment the theory was formulated, all the cranks have rushed in to explain Nature's mystery. The religious and ethical cranks say her purpose is to produce a very high moral and religious humanity. The intellectual cranks of the Bernard Shaw type declare the purpose to be the production of the "Superman"—out of the bald-headed, near-sighted, toothless monstrosity of civilisation. The reformers of the I.L.P. and S.D.P. say the object of Nature is to evolve unseen ("as a thief in the night") a society of free men out of capitalism.

However, despite the cranks, capitalism pursues its own line of evolution, a line which is determined by the social basis. That basis is private property in the productive instruments. The evolution is the evolution of capital, and with each stage is more capital, more exploitation and more degradation of the workers.

After this, by what process of reasoning our army of reformers manage to make out that stages of capitalism which bring more unemployment, more insecurity, lower wages and higher priced rations are inevitable stages in the evolution of freedom we are at a loss to discover. They do not dispute the facts. Keir Hardie himself admitted at the Portsmouth Conference of the Labour Party on Jan. 27th, 1909, that "the wages of the working class had declined by £1,300,000 a year since the opening of this century," whilst "the income of those who paid income tax had increased by 147 million pounds." How, then, in the face of this fact, does Mr. Hardie manage to conclude that things are improving with the working class, and that his party is making steps toward Socialism? Rather are not the steps which he and his reform party are helping the capitalists to make, steps in the evolution of capitalism? and is not the fact patent that every turn of the capitalist wheel makes harder the condition of the workers?

This being the stern truth, let all who realise it as such proclaim it to the workers as the stern

truth. Let them tell the toiling masses that they are face to face with a system which will drive them from bad to worse; tell them that so long as the system is there its laws must operate, and that therefore it is their business to leave the capitalists alone to make what they can of capitalism, while they, the workers, organise themselves to capture political power, overthrow the system, and establish Socialism. Anyhow, the day is not far distant when the workers must discover the facts from their own hard lives, and they will demand from the Hyndmans and the Quelches and the Hardies, the reason they have been played with so long.

Capitalism is nearing the last stage of its evolution. In that stage State Capitalism will in all probability have a large share. We may expect to see industries one by one gathered up into the capitalist State. In this stage greater economies than ever can be effected, much waste eliminated, and the system of exploitation perfected. The railways will be taken over. In the place of many railways run by many competing companies with many staffs of workers, there will be the State railway, run by one efficient staff and worked in every way to yield the greatest amount of profit. The system may well be extended in certain other directions, where competition, overlapping and other forms of waste can be eliminated, and workers consequently displaced, pitched neck and crop into the flooded labour market, to beat wages lower.

Before the workers cast any more votes for this thing which the Independent Labour Party calls Socialism, or a step toward Socialism, and which even Hyndman and the S.D.P. advocate as a step toward Socialism, we invite them to face the facts and do a think.

Capitalism evolves through the stages of small competitive capitals into large, monopolistic capitals. The private firm, the Joint Stock Company, the Combine, the Trust, the Merger: such is the order of its evolution. And we hear on all hands the cry—"Let the State own the Trusts!" This being interpreted without qualification means, "Let the capitalists collectively own the trusts." But what difference is there between the trusts owned by groups of capitalists and trusts owned by the whole of them? In either case the worker is face to face with one employer, to give offence to whom is to court starvation, since there exists no other employer in that industry. In either case the worker is exploited by the most up-to-date machinery and methods, and bullied and dragooned into subservience by an army of officials within and an army of unemployed without. The difference between the officialdom of the private trust and the bureaucracy of the State-owned industry is nothing to the victims of both. Loudly as the Quelches and Hyndmans may proclaim the "Socialistic" nature of the latter, it is merely a breath which ruffles the upper layers of the social ocean where the social sharks disport themselves, but leaves unchanged and undisturbed the depths where the smaller fish swim or crawl.

In the initial stages of capitalism, before trade unions had evolved, the worker bargained with his master individually, as man to man. He didn't get much this way. Why? Because his master owned the means of life, while he, the worker, possessed only his labour-power—a commodity which must be sold quickly or it perishes, and with it its possessor.

Later the workers bargained collectively with their masters, through their trade unions. Still they got little, and for just the same reason. In addition they now had leaders, who, knowing their sheep, and being often corrupt, sold them. Anyhow, all the way the masters have waxed fatter while the propertyless have worn thinner. For the latter it has thus far been unceasingly a losing game. What hope have they, then, of faring better by bargaining with State Capitalism, with all its organised forces of law, army and police arrayed against them?

Fellow workers, Capitalism and Socialism are as far as the poles asunder. Evolve it ever so long and through ever so many forms and stages, the former can never evolve into the latter. State capitalism, as other forms of capitalism, has its root in private property; Socialism must be rooted in common ownership. The change of the property condition from private to common is the one essential for the betterment of the workers.

JOHN TANLYN.



## WHAT THE POOR WANT.

Of late years numerous books have been written and published, having for their subject the daily life of that class of the populace known to the authors of these works by the significant appellation of "The Poor."

At the head of an article in the current number of a well-known quarterly review (the mention of a quarterly review in a Socialist paper savours somewhat of profanity) appears a list of nine or ten books, most of which are principally concerned in dealing with the social condition of the working class, written either by Governmental officials, or by men and women who—while apparently far above the poverty line themselves—have sought and found a "new thrill" in the contemplation of their less fortunate brethren.

The author of the article (it is entitled "What the Poor Want" and is by a Mr. Stephen Reynolds) informs us that he has spent "from choice" some years among a certain section of the working class, living—intermittently, one infers from what he says—as an inmate of a working-man's cottage. By reason of this diletantism he presumably considers himself fully qualified to judge what it is that will really benefit the poor, and what is the best way of giving it to them. He is almost pathetic in his childlike naïveté. He regrets having to use repeatedly in the course of his article, the words "poor" and "poor men," and deprecates any impression of patronage in so doing. He cannot however see, in his simplicity, that to live in a man's family circle (whether the man be a fisherman or a duke) and to use any of the information of the family life therein gained for the purpose of making money by contributing such information to a capitalist magazine, is not only patronage in its most ignoble form, but a breach of the common laws of hospitality.

Mr. Reynolds has set himself the task in his article of showing how legislation in the past has signally failed to improve the condition of the workers (or the poor, as he prefers to call them). With a sad lack of humour, though with the utmost indignation, he speaks of the impertinence of interfering with the life of the poor without their being consulted, and then goes on to prove to his own satisfaction that only through a careful and systematic espionage into the domestic concerns of the poor can any hope of assistance be held out to them. Mr. Reynolds tells how resentful the poor man is at being interfered with by Government inspectors and democratic leaders ("who flatter him and hold him in contempt at the same time") and all the while he is writing the most fulsome flattery interspersed with good-natured contempt.

Parts of the article have a certain educational value, not, however, in the sense intended by the writer, nor for the people to whom he is ostensibly appealing. For example, in speaking of the last Licensing Bill, he says that: "while the Lords would not hear of the proposals directly affecting the brewers, they were ready to consider the sections which would interfere with the personal liberty for good and ill of the working classes."

Later on he points out very pertinently that the Bill recently passed for the purpose of preventing children entering Public Houses (that Bill hailed so piously by the Nonconformist Press as "The Children's Charter") reacted altogether to the disadvantage of those for whose benefit it was framed, that is, the children themselves. (So much for our muddle-headed Liberal legislation.)

He can sometimes tell a hawk from a handsaw. He considers that our present system of free and compulsory education is absolutely useless for all practical purposes to the class on which it is forced.

He finally sums up the complete futility of all reforms in the following damning indictment. It is an extract from a work by Miss M. Loane, who is a "Queen's Nurse" (whatever that may be) and for whose opinion he has the greatest respect:

"For many generations innumerable multitudes of charitable people have been deeply concerned in helping the poor. They have attacked the problems relating to them from the religious, the moral, the sentimental, the intel-

lectual, the 'practical' standpoint. All alike have failed almost completely in reducing the number of the abjectly wretched, or of effecting any lasting improvement in their condition."

We are in entire agreement with this extract and would recommend its perusal to all advocates of palliatives.

The following reason is given by Miss Loane for this failure of reforms, and is endorsed by Mr. Reynolds. She says it is:

"Chiefly, I believe, because they (i.e., the reformers) have hitherto one and all despised the home life of the poor, held it cheaply, as a thing of no moment."

We will now proceed to examine our author's proposals, the great and enlightening ideas which, when embodied in legislation and philanthropy, will mislead the workers out of their poverty and misery, will disperse once and for all the ghastly shadow of unemployment at present hovering over them, which will, in fact, usher in a new era of prosperity and happiness for the erstwhile downtrodden proletariat.

Mr. Reynolds has, from his own account, an intimate acquaintance with the home life of the poor, and must therefore be in an excellent position to judge what would, and what would not, offer a lasting benefit to them. He insists that "a new spirit in dealing with the poor is indeed wanted." This new spirit is to be found in what Mr. Reynolds calls a "tendency towards a New Toryism or Nationalism, a Nationalism founded on respect for the poor; less bent on raising them out of their station than on providing them with justice in that station."

Here we have once again the old, moth-eaten idea prevalent among "economists" of the school favoured by sentimentalists such as Mr. Reynolds, that the economic relations between slave and master can be maintained and yet justice be done by the slave. The only method by which the dominant class could give justice to those exploited by it would be by the effacement of itself. There can be no justice between master and slave, between employer and employed. Mr. Reynolds's conception of justice as something that can be given as a favour and received as a gift is absurd. Justice is impossible in any society where one class is dominated by another.

Throughout the article the author persistently insists on the necessity of keeping the poor in their "state of life," that is, of course, in the proper spirit of subjection to their pastors and masters. Children (of the working class, of course) should be educated in accordance with the conditions of life into which they are born. Presumably, Mr. Reynolds is advocating the institution of a new educational system, in which for example, incipient dock-labourers and potential scavengers shall have the opportunity during childhood of efficiently learning the intricate technical details of their trades. That some such idea is in his mind will be seen by the following extract, quoted by him with relish:

"The best husbands and fathers among the poor have been men whose mothers 'learned' to work and seed they did their share," i.e., when they were children.

Throughout the article, in spite of his vaunted regard for the poor, he offers no scheme that would make for the elimination of poverty. Poverty is so interesting and valuable to sentimentalists of the type of Mr. Reynolds that they cannot bear the thought of the well-springs of their so-called charity being dried up for want of suitable objects on which such charity may be lavished. As he says (without, however, seeing the applicableness to himself):

"We have that charitable attitude, which, basing itself on such axioms as 'The poor always have with you,' is apt to take the diseases of the body politic and social as inevitable and a matter of course, as fortunate opportunities for the exercise of virtuous charity. 'If there were no poor,' I have heard such people argue, 'it would be Christianity's loss. Therefore we must have poor.'"

It might also be said that if there were no poor Mr. Reynolds would not be able to go philandering among his poor friends, nor would he be able to accept their hospitality for the purpose of studying their poverty-stricken lives, nor be able to make money by writing articles in an expensive review on a subject of which he knows practically nothing. Therefore

we must have poor.

But what is it that the poor want? What is it that is necessary before the working class (Mr. Reynolds's "poor") can ever hope to combat the acknowledged evils rampant in its midst? The only hope of the workers is in themselves. No one can help them but themselves. When they understand their actual position in society, when they realise that their position as wage slaves is not eternally inevitable, is not a dispensation of any Providence, against which it is useless to fight, then only can there possibly be a chance of any improvement in their lot. This knowledge once gained, their organisation into a conscious political force and their final emancipation from the thrall of Capitalism is the only logical outcome. They will then hold their chance of happiness in their own hands, will not be dependent on a class, totally alien to them from every point of view, for a few transitory glimpses of a wider life than can be obtained within their usual narrow and sordid ken.

If Mr. Reynolds is really desirous of helping the working class, we would suggest that he start by obtaining and distributing among his poor friends the literature issued by and recommended by the Socialist Party. He might with advantage, begin with the S.P.G.B. Manifesto. Even a perusal by Mr. Reynolds himself (the suggestion is thrown out with all humility) would do no harm, and might, perchance, increase the width of his economic and political outlook.

F. J. WEBB.

## POSTMEN &amp; POLITICS.

The Postmen's Federation would appear to shine amongst the embodiments of ignorance and muddle that yet afflict the working class. Trade unions generally are not famed for any great perspicacity, but for sheer baffleheadedness the P.F. holds "the biscuit."

The impotence and absurdly contradictory attitudes of the organisation is easily understood when we take a glance over its membership and notice the working of that bane of present-day Trade Unionism, the coffin club feature. The P.F. Mutual Benefit Society has 17,310 members (Feb. 26th, 1910), these, as such, being compulsorily members of the P.F., while the latter has in all 36,236 members. Very many of the P.F. men are members only because of the M.B.S. benefits, which with 10 years membership as the full qualification, amount to £65 15s. 2d., payable at pension, bonus, or to a nominee at death. The basis of premiums being so much per "call," the more M.B.S. members there are the more the "call" realises.

It is easy to see what a vast number of the members are in the Federation for by studying them as they receive the organ of the P.F., the *Postman's Gazette*. They don't turn to articles on the Wages Question and the like, but seek the information as to the amount of their liability to the M.B.S.

The *Postman's Gazette* for Feb. 12th and 26th is packed full of confusion, showing that the Federation members are no wiser than the great majority of the postal employees. The notion is almost universal that as regards their material welfare they are in a different position to other wage-earners and "married," so to speak, to their respective situations.

The Postmen's Federation is, after all, typical of the confusion within the trades union movement generally. There is a sort of blind groping after something better, but the members don't know which way to turn. This is not surprising when one comes to consider how their paper and their leaders between them begot the members. The Federation is affiliated to the National Labour Party, and branches locally through trades councils or local labour parties, take a further share in the Labour Party's work.

The Federation has spent since 1904 over £5,000 in affiliation fees and political contests apart from the expenditure incurred by the appointment of a Parliamentary candidate. (It may be here stated that the Parliamentary candidate, G. H. Stuart, had to resign his position in the P.F. Office in order to stand as candidate for Parliamentary honours.)

The editor of the *Postman's Gazette* extremely regrets "that the action of an Executive officer

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS ISSUE.

## REVOLUTION'S REPLY TO REFORM.

The answer to "Arms for the Workers: A Defence of the Programme of the Social-Democratic Party." (E. C. Fairchild, *Lon. Organiser, S.D.P.*)

—O—O—

## On the Generosity of Capitalists.

We will lump several of Mr. Fairchild's sections together under this heading, partly because in some of them there is no very definite argument, and partly on account of exigency of space.

Our opponent says it is often argued that a Socialist party need not ask for measures to alleviate poverty. "The assertion that improvement in the workers' conditions under capitalism is impossible," he says, is "changed into an admission that good housing, maintenance of the children or the public provision of employment, are of benefit to the people, but we are told that it is unnecessary for us to ask for legislation dealing with these matters, because the governing class will give concessions of their own free will."

It is difficult to know who Mr. Fairchild is girding at. The only persons claiming to be Socialists who still believe in that hoary old superstition, "free will," are (as might be expected) just those who believe in asking the capitalists to make "public provision of employment" and the rest, "of their own free will."

The attitude we take up is the proper and logical attitude of those who deny the whole theory of "free will." Moreover, it is the proper and logical attitude of those who assert the preponderating influence of economic forces upon the human will. How obscure our author's ideas in this connection are is shown by his assertion (p. 13) that the feudal baron was "surrounded by an atmosphere which contained the elements of magnanimity, but there is nothing generous in the nature of the man who introduces a mechanical time recorder to check the entry of his employees and when they leave." What rubbish! Had Mr. Fairchild said that the man who introduces a mechanical time recorder is "surrounded by an atmosphere" that contains no element of magnanimity, envied by economic forces which tend to thwart, restrict and penalise every generous impulse of employer toward employed, he would have been right. But to declare that the capitalist can have no spark of generosity in his composition is not only folly, but is peculiarly grotesque on the lips of one who charges his opponents with regarding "the capitalist in business as devoid of all sentiment and deaf to human appeal." It is capitalism that has no heart, not the capitalist.

But to get back to the argument, no one in his senses would deny that some improvement in the workers' condition is possible, even under Capitalism. Capitalism itself may conceivably demand such an improvement, and then it will take place. This, however, is no confession that it is possible for the "palliator" and his "palliatives" to improve the workers' conditions. Of course we must confess that "good housing, maintenance of the children or public provision of employment, are of benefit to the people,"—if other things remain constant. But other things have a knack of changing. Thus it is significant that the Board of Trade reports that during the first year of operation of the Old Age Pension "palliative," the total wage income of that section of the workers covered by its returns decreased by £3,599,024, and this in a year when the slight decrease of unemployment might have tended to a rise of wages, and the abnormally high price of necessities in no way encouraged a fall. Again, it has been shown that any attempt to relieve the congested labour market, such as by the public provision of employment, lessens the relative redundancy of labour-power, hence tends to raise wages, and hence again encourages the adoption of more economical machinery, which in turn displaces further workers, and refills the depleted ranks of the

(S. Walsh, M.P.)\* of the Labour Party should have contributed in any way to an unfair contest" at Eccles, where G. H. Stuart stood for Parliament in the labour (!) interest. But in the same issue a correspondent points out that "one of our Executive officers," living at West Salford Division, "had previous to the election, been freely giving it out that he would vote against the Labour man for our (West Salford) Division."—*Postman's Gazette*, Feb. 12, 1910.

In the next issue ex-Councillor H. Mottershead replies: "I am the vice president of the local Labour Party, a member of the Postmen's Federation and of the I.L.P., both of which bodies are affiliated to the Labour Party, and it seems to me that had I cast my vote as 'W.W.' desired, I should be worthy to be numbered among those members of the Party to whom our Parliamentary Secretary refers as not properly understanding the meaning of the word loyalty."

"I voted as I did, not because I believe in the party I voted for, but as a means of punishing what one of the leaders of the Labour Party who knew the facts, rightly called (in my opinion) 'back-handed treachery.'"

The "back-handed treachery" lay in A. A. Purcell, the pseudo-Socialist (S.D.P. brand) having thrown over the Labour Party by refusing to sign its Constitution.

If one of the Labour leaders said Mr. Purcell was guilty of "back-handed treachery," another (Keir Hardie at Newport, 8.2.10) said that "the working men who were content to vote for either a Liberal or a Tory party thereby proved their unfitness to possess the franchise."

Mr. Mottershead truly was on the horns of a dilemma. He was under the necessity of showing himself to be either a knave or a fool. Of course it did not occur to him to abstain from voting, and so adhere to Clause III. section 1 of the Labour Party's Constitution, of which he was, I charitably assume, aware, since he was vice-president of the local Labour Party. Neither did it strike his colleagues of the committee of the Manchester and Salford District Branch of the Postmen's Federation, as representing a unit of the Labour Party, to adhere to that party's Constitution when they sent a letter of support to Sir C. E. Schwann, the Liberal candidate for North Manchester.

Sir Charles thanked I.L.P. Councillor Openshaw "very warmly" for his letter because "although it was on the walls for a few hours of the 14th and Saturday the 15th, it was exten-

\*Extract from handbill circulated by the Liberals and republished in the *Postman's Gazette*, Feb. 12: "He mentioned the Eccles Division, where the sitting member (Sir George Pollard) had been so true to Labour during the present Parliament, where the Labour candidate has not the remotest chance of winning the seat, but may cause the present member to lose the seat."

He thought it was folly to fight seats where there was no hope, and might assist in jeopardising other seats."

Miners! Take Mr. Walsh's advice, and vote for Pollard, the miners' friend.

"palliated" unemployed.

Now let us turn to the question of the "maintenance of the children." Capitalism provides wages for one object only—the production of labour-power. Capitalism, moreover, never ceases its efforts to reduce to the lowest possible limits the cost of producing that labour-power. In this direction, indeed, capitalism abhors waste. Yet, from capitalism's viewpoint, the production of labour-power, at least in respect of the raising of children for the continuance of the supply, is proceeded with in a very wasteful manner. For instance, there is no way of distinguishing in the labour market between the man who is bringing up a dozen children for future exploitation, and the man who has only himself to keep, hence the wages of the latter include a margin which to Capitalism is a lamentable waste. Of course it may be argued that the single or childless man, having smaller needs, is an instrument in lowering wages, but on the other hand, having less responsibility, and having moreover a margin in times of employment his power of resistance is greater.

Then under the present system of "parental responsibility," mothers are largely prevented from entering the labour market by the fact that they have children to look after. Nor does it end here. Since the support of these children's attendants must, broadly speaking, be included in the fathers' wages, and as the childless married man cannot be distinguished in the labour market, he is generally able to keep his wife at home. This is a further leakage. Again, the single man, whom Capitalism was forced to credit with a certain share of "parental responsibility," is not only the gainer in as much as he has no children to keep, but also in that he has not to support a wife to look after them.

Now assuming that the S.D.P. attain their pet and chief "palliative"—State Maintenance of Children—in all its "stupendous magnitude" and gaudy magnificence, what happens? In the first place, parents having been relieved of the cost of maintaining their children, their wages will suffer equivalent depreciation by competition. In the second place the childless married men, standing now on the same footing as the fathers of families, share in the wage reduction without being relieved of any burden. In the third place the mothers are freed from and forced into the labour market, to accentuate the competition there. Fourthly wives who are not mothers, being now in no favoured position, are also forced into the struggle for work. Fifthly the male workers, released now from the necessity of supporting their women-kind, being, indeed, compelled to compete with them for the means of subsistence, quickly find their wages reduced accordingly, so that Capitalism gets the labour-power of the women as well as of the men, for the sustenance of the two sexes, instead of only the labour power of the men. Sixthly the advantage of the single men, who have no wives or children to keep, vanishes.

As regards the children, it is argued that they would be better looked after and more of them would survive. As for the first argument, any better conditions after birth might be more than outweighed by the less favourable prenatal environment due to their parents' increased struggle for subsistence. As for the second argument, it is an insane sentiment of humanity that would preserve children for the labour market conditions that would arise from launching the whole body of working-class women into the industrial arena.

A word as to the effect upon the working-class movement. It is fatuous to argue that the measure would strengthen the workers' hands in case of strike. The children would be returned to them in order to smash the strike. Nor could the workers prevent this unless they had strength to end capitalist domination for ever. Then when we hand our children over to the capitalists for maintenance, we hand their education entirely over to the priest and the capitalist moralist, who would blur the class line, teach them to lick the hand that fed them, and so place mountainous obstacles in the way of the growth of class-consciousness.

And now my space is exhausted, and I can only say in conclusion: FOR THE WORKERS THERE IS NO PALLIATION, BUT ONLY SOCIALISM.

Concluded.

*sincerely read and no doubt inwardly digested and contributed to my success."*

It behoves the members of the Postmen's Federation to ask themselves wherein the difference in principle lies, between Mr. Stephen Walsh, Labour M.P., being indiscreet enough to give utterance to a statement that could be and was used by the Liberal opponent of a Labour candidate, and Mr. H. Mottershead spreading the statement that he was voting Liberal against a (generally understood) Labour candidate, and the Manchester branch of the Postmen's Federation giving support to a Liberal elsewhere.

And whilst they have their thinking apparatus working let them think what the late P.M.G., Mr. Sydney Buxton, did "to make the official life of the lower grades pleasanter and more hopeful" (!) as writes the editor of the organ of the Postmen's Federation (26.2.10).

And let them further consider whether it is not because he was "the first P.M.G. to foster and encourage good personal relations between the governing officials, local and national, and the rank and file" (we quote from the same issue and writer) that "it is now our duty to record his transference to the Presidency of the Board of Trade"?

In other words, has not Mr. Buxton climbed the political ladder by obscuring the antagonism of interests between the workers and the capitalist State exploiters? And what is to be said of the intelligence, consistency, and political morality of the aforesaid editor, who, while passing



**S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR APRIL.**

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	3rd.	10th.	17th.	24th.
Battersea, Prince's Head 11.30	J. E. Roe	H. Martin	P. G. Barker	H. Joy
Forest Gate, Sebert Rd. 7.30	H. Joy	A. Anderson	J. Fitzgerald	H. Newman
Finsbury Park 3.0	F. Dawkins	A. Jacobs	H. King	A. Jacobs
Kennington Triangle 11.30	A. Anderson	F. Dawkins	A. Anderson	J. Fitzgerald
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	H. Newman	A. Anderson	H. Martin	T. W. Allen
Paddington, Prince of Wales	A. Jacobs	F. Dawkins	A. Jacobs	F. Dawkins
Parliament Hill 11.30	T. W. Allen	J. Halls	F. Leigh	H. King
Stoke Newington, Ridley Rd., Dalston	J. Halls	F. Leigh	T. W. Allen	A. Anderson
Tooting Broadway 11.30	H. Martin	R. Kent	J. Fitzgerald	D. Fisher
Tottenham, West Green Cnr. 7.30	P. G. Barker	H. Newman	D. Fisher	H. Cooper
Walthamstow, Hoe-st. Stn. 7.30	H. Newman	J. Fitzgerald	P. G. Barker	J. Kemble
Wandsworth, Buckhold Road 8.0	F. W. Stearn	J. Fitzgerald	H. Joy	A. Pearson
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill 11.30	A. Anderson	T. W. Allen	H. Newman	H. Martin
" 7.30	T. W. Allen	D. Fisher	A. Anderson	T. W. Allen
" 7.30	D. Fisher	R. Fox	J. Crump	R. H. Kent
" 7.30	H. Martin	A. W. Pearson	T. W. Allen	H. Newman

**MONDAYS.**—Earlsfield, Magdalene Rd., 8.30. Queen's-square, Upton Pk., 8. Islington, Highbury, Cnr, 8.30.  
**TUESDAYS.**—Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m.  
**WEDNESDAYS.**—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Waltham Green, Church, 8. Plaistow, Greengate, 8  
**THURSDAYS.**—Battersea, Princes Head, 8.0. Tottenham, St. Ann's Road, 8.30. Earlsfield, Magdalene Road, 8.  
**FRIDAYS.**—Paddington, Prince of Wales, 8.30. Tooting Broadway, 8.30.  
**SATURDAYS.**—Earlsfield, Magdalene Road, 7 p.m. Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m. East Ham, Ruskin Avenue, 8.

stricture upon Mr. Walsh's treachery in opposing the candidate of the Postmen's Federation, yet finds it within his province to eulogise the individual whose chloroforming work has met with such substantial recognition by the very political party the Postmen's Federation has spent £5,000 in fighting?

Not by nationalising this that or the other concern will the position of the workers as a whole be bettered. For if the contrary were true the postal employees should be in better conditions of life than other wage workers. That it is not so is proof of the fallacy of the "nationalisation" allurement of the Labour Party and the I.L.P. Betterment in the material sense can only come with the acquisition of political supremacy by the working class. Labour parties composed of such elements as are to be found among the leaders in the Postmen's Federation are worse than useless to the workers. One party and one party only works consistently for the emancipation of the workers, and that party is the Socialist Party of Great Britain.

Postal employees and all others who are forced to live by the sale of their labour-power, are earnestly invited to consider it principles and to do it now. B. H. J.

**ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.****RECEIVED—**

"Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)  
 "Weekly People" (New York).  
 "Evening Call," (New York)  
 "Gaelic American" (New York).  
 "Western Wage-Earner," (Vancouver, B.C.)  
 "The Flame," (Broken Hill).  
 "Freedom," (London).  
 "Anglo Russian," (London).  
 "Voice of Labour," (Johannesburg).  
 "The International" (London).  
 "Civil Service Socialist" (London).

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**KARL KAUTSKY.**

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## THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

**OBJECT.**

*The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth and in the interest of the whole community*

**Declaration of Principles****THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN****HOLDS**

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

That the Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

**APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.**

To the Secretary,

..... Branch, S.P.G.B.

I hereby declare my adhesion to the above principles, and request enrolment as a member of The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

Signature.....

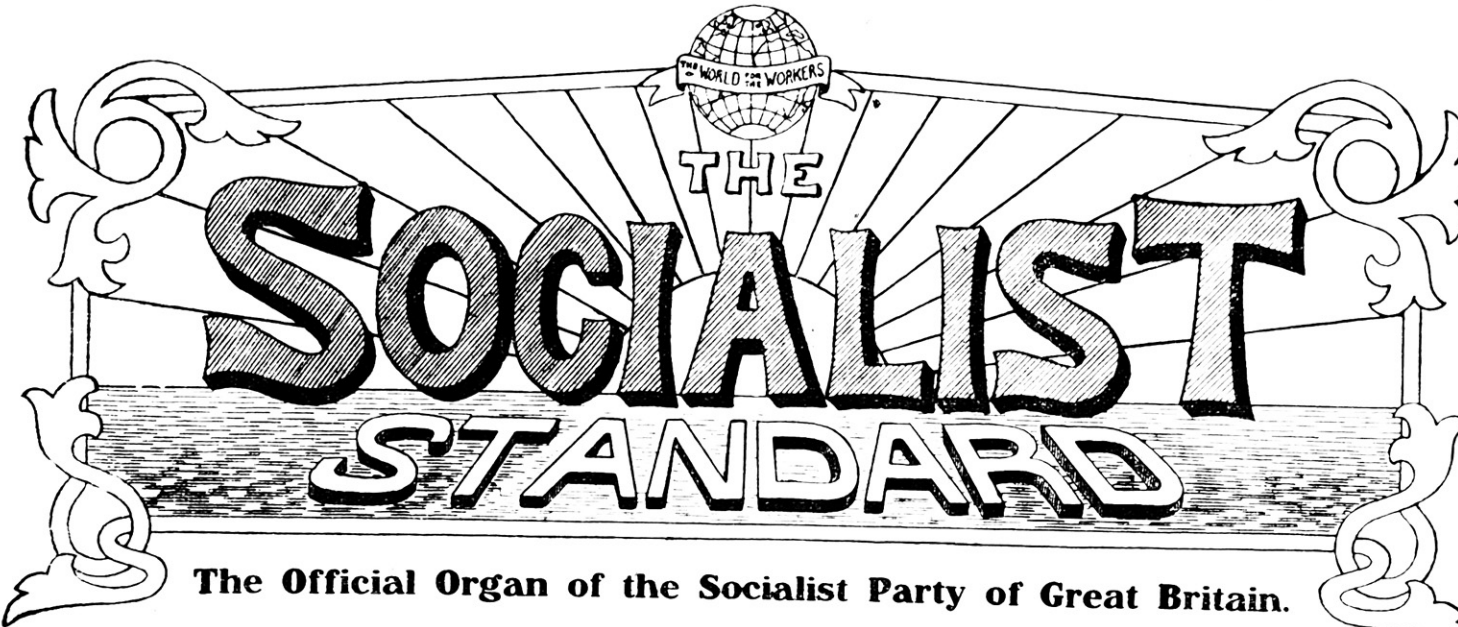
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# THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

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[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

## TARIFF REFORM, FREE TRADE OR NO TRADE? THE FISCAL FRAUD EXPOSED.

The increase in the number of working men rallying to the cry of "Tariff Reform," and the near prospect of another General Election during which that cry will be greatly heard, are the reasons that the "fiscal question" is again dealt with in these columns.

The enormous extent of unemployment and misery amongst the workers after a glorious 60 years of "Free Trade" provides "Tariff Reform" with a ready audience to receive its plausible policy.

Why is "Tariff Reform" advocated by various sections of the capitalist class?

The answer is found if we recall that "Free Trade" was adopted when Great Britain was the chief manufacturing nation of the world, but economic development has brought countries, then mainly agricultural, into competition with her for the world market. Certain sections of the capitalist class, therefore, are feeling the effect, and see in Tariff Reform, a policy for keeping their trade with the profits it brings.

To achieve this they are, by means of their "Tariff Reform League," baiting for working-class support, by saying that Tariff Reform means the end of unemployment and poverty.

Great Britain, they say, is the only Free Trade country. Every other country has "Tariff Walls." And they point to the conditions in these countries to show the effect of Tariff Reform. But if we examine the conditions in these other countries, we find the facts offer us little inducement to favour Tariff Reform.

Is Great Britain solitary in possessing a working class suffering from poverty and unemployment?

Look at Spain, Italy, Portugal, Russia, Austria — countries whose conditions compel the admission that the workers are no better placed than here.

What of France? Mr. Harry Marks, the Tory M.P. for Thanet, gave in the House of Commons (April 28th, 1909), some interesting details of French wages. Tailoring: the men average 4 francs (3s. 4d.) per day; homeworkers get 1s. 3d. to 1s. 8d. for a day of 12 hours. Lace trade: men, 4 francs 75 cents (about 4s. 1d.) per day; women 2 francs (about 1s. 8d.) per day. Card-board box trade: men 3s. 1d. per day; women 1s. 3d. for a day of 12 hours.

When the Trade Boards Bill was before Parliament recently, Tariff Reformers declared that it was useless while goods made abroad were imported into England, thereby naively showing the fraud of Tariff Reform claims.

But America and Germany are the "trump cards" of the Tariff Reformer.

Of American unemployment this may be said: The only States that officially collect and publish figures are New York and Massachusetts. This latter State, after official enquiry issued a return showing in March 1908, 16.18 per cent. and on December 31st, 1908, 10.98 per cent. of trade unionists unemployed.

The Department of Labor of the State of New York reports in the September 1908 "Bulletin" 30.2 per cent., and in the September 1909 edition states that 17.5 per cent. of the trade unionists reporting were unemployed.

The New York correspondent of the "Daily Telegraph" reports in that paper (April 27th, 1908) that after very careful enquiries he put down the number of unemployed in the U.S.A. at 3 millions as a moderate estimate.

The same paper for January 21st 1909 states: "In New York this morning 3,000 men applied for work at clearing away snow, and as only 1,000 were needed, the applicants fought among themselves until the police reserves arrived."

Mr. Sam Gompers, speaking for the American Federation of Labour at Washington, February 10th 1909, and basing his remarks upon branch reports, said: "I am sure it is not an exaggeration to say that there are now in this country and have been with very little variation since October 1907, nearly 2 million wage-earners unemployed."

*In the Land of the Millionaires, unemployed.*

"The Times" (October 2nd, 1908) said: "Economic laws have tended to assert their sway until the total number of unemployed, entirely or in part, in the whole country, cannot be less than 3 to 4 millions."

The conditions of life for the workers were recently illustrated by the struggle at the works of the Steel Trust at Pittsburg and the tram-worker's strike in Philadelphia.

We will now quote from a book written by a prominent Tariff Reform journalist and politician (the Tariff Reform candidate at Leicester at the recent election) after personal investigation into the industrial life of America. ("America at work," 1903, by John Foster Fraser.)

Regarding poverty he says:

"I went into some of the poorer districts. I have seen our slums in English towns, foul and loathsome, but never quite as bad as I saw in Pittsburg. The Pittsburg slums are dreadful; the houses wheezy, unsteady, filthy. In one street I saw a lake stretched half across the way of little else than sewage. The men were pale, worn, not well set up and they were all anxious faced."

"Chicago has its poor and plenty of them."

"Life is hard, many workmen go to the wall."

"Mr. Davies, the chief factory inspector of Illinois State said: 'I can take you to places where life is just a struggle, where if you gave a cent banana to a family of five it would be the

greatest treat that they have had for weeks.' In the sweatshops the places were wretched, furniture was lacking, the finger of poverty was there."

*Wages in America.*

As to wages he points out that: "After working out calculations, based on the increased cost of living, I am convinced that the American shopworker is no better off financially than the English."

"The ruck of the girls" in departmental stores) "get badly paid, as low frequently as 10s. 6d. per week, and this in a city where living is twice as expensive as in London."

"The average wage for all Chicago—poor women who get a penny for sewing trousers and managers of firms who get £20,000 a year—is about 38s. per week."

"The skilled workman is not required. What is required is, firstly, the man who can devise fresh labour-saving machinery, secondly, the labourer who will do one little routine thing year after year, and do it expeditiously."

"Wages can only be reckoned by their purchasing power. Therefore while the American workingman earns more than the Briton he has to work harder, and he has to pay more for the necessities of life, in the case of rent about 3 times as much."

"I find taking America as a whole, that on the last ten years, wages are on the decrease while the cost of food is on the increase."

The reward of toil in after years is thus indicated:

"It is a life of strained nerves. It explained many of the grey hairs I saw on boyish heads. It explained why I saw hardly any grey beards. Where are your elderly workmen? I asked, a Philadelphia manufacturer, once, twice, three times. At the third time he said, 'Have a smoke and we'll take a car ride along to the cemetery.'"

"Practically every railway company refuse to engage a new man if he is over 35 years of age."

"The British working man may think these conditions frightfully hard. So they are. If a man falls out of work say at the age of 38, his chances of getting work are practically gone."

"The American working man is soon played out, that is why you seldom see an old man in big industrial concerns."

"Employers, if trade unions are in their way, set about to smash them."

"The American employer can often snap his fingers at his men because if there is any trouble others can be brought in."

*Bleeding the Children.*

Regarding child labour he says: "Of recent years the New England manufacturer has been hit hard by the great cotton industry — due to the introduction of Northern capital — which has sprung up in the South, in Georgia and in North and South Carolina. The labour



is cheap—men only get about 23s. a week of 66 or 70 hours. In some places there are no regulations as to the age of child workers, and little ones of 8 or 10 are to be found by the hundred in the Southern mills working these long hours for 5s. per week. Child labour is one of the blackest spots on American industrial life.

"There are 40,000 boys employed about the anthracite mines, i.e., one in four of the total employees, and thousands of them are obviously under 14 and 12. The employer evades responsibility by getting an affidavit from the parents that the child has passed the legal age, and the parents, eager for an extra half dollar a week, lie readily. Children of 12 are to be found in a Pennsylvania mine, a cruel thing.

"I had a long talk with Mr. Davies about the employment of children. He told me that there were lots of children under 12 working in Chicago. When I refused to believe him he took me to his office and brought out report after report of inspectors who had found children of 12 earning their poor 4 shillings a week amid the horrors of Chicago slaughterhouses. The law of Illinois State is that employers shall not knowingly employ children under 14. Some of the porkpacking firms repudiate responsibility by flouting the signed declaration in Mr. Davies' face. But Mr. Davies told me of the cases of boys obviously under the age of 14 that had been enquired into by the inspectors, quite 98 per cent. were found to be under age."

The extracts that we have given above can be supplemented, but enough have been given. Before leaving the case of America it may be as well to state that unemployment in America is said by Tariff Reformers to be due to extensive immigration, but this claim recoils on those who make it, because the majority of the immigrants come from lands where Tariff Reform exists.

Germany is the pet illustration of the Tariff Reformer. We saw by means of the Berlin Sweating Exhibition in 1906, the terrible struggle for existence there. The official Income Tax returns of Prussia show that out of a population of 38 millions 21 millions have an income of less than 17s. 3d. per week per family.

Official returns state that there are 33 unemployed colonies in Germany. In December 1908 the Official Labour Gazette showed that the applicants for work at the Labour Bureaux were more than four to each vacancy.

The "Daily Telegraph" (17th Feb. '09) states that the census taken by the "Free Trade Unions" showed 101,300 unemployed in Greater Berlin. This was done by a house-to-house visitation. This paper also points out that in November 1908 the Berlin municipality called upon the unemployed to report themselves on the 17th and they state that 40,000 did so.

The "protectionist" "Morning Post" (20th January, 1908) says: "The unemployed question can and undoubtedly must be discussed in part at least, without reference to fiscal policy, because it results in part at least, from causes unaffected by tariffs or their absence. Unemployment is found in the United Kingdom under Free Trade, and it has not been banished from other industrial nations by their tariffs. Germany is the classic home of experiments for dealing with the unemployed—by labour colonies, labour registries, vagrancy laws and relief works. German official reports recognise a problem indistinguishable in character from those we are familiar with here."

After this comparative survey a more scientific examination is necessary.

The same issue of the "Morning Post" says:

"The universality of unemployment makes it necessary to look for its explanation not only to the differences but to the common features of the industrial systems of all countries.

"In so far as unemployment is an incident of modern industry it is an incident of individualistic industry. Nor is there any difficulty in showing how individualism in industry leads necessarily to unemployment or the constant fear of unemployment. So long as the workman depends upon a private employer whose business fluctuates or may cease altogether, so long as competition exists to produce strenuous fits of over production followed by stagnation, so long as whole trades may be revolutionised or destroyed by new inventions,—the constant possibility and the occasional realisation of unemployment must remain. If

the solution of the unemployed problem means the guaranteeing of absolute continuity of employment to every man at all times at his own or something like his own trade, it does mean nothing less than the ending of industrial competition and the superseding of the private capitalist by a single universal employer."

We are constantly told that "the one thing needful" for us is "more work," to obtain which the commerce of the capitalist class must be increased. Thus trying to get the worker to identify his interests with his master's. But unemployment by itself is not the plight of the worker. If unemployment was the real trouble then the capitalist class would fare badly. Though unemployed, they live sumptuously. This indicates that the real trouble is the lack of the necessities of life already produced by the workers but owned by the masters through their possession of the instruments of production, the workers being only allowed to use these on condition of parting with the wealth they produce. The ever increasing amount of wealth produced by the working class and the attempt of each employing unit to sell to as large a number of buyers as possible, alongside of the increasing insufficiency of the workers' wages to enable them to buy back their product, causes industrial crises, which we see are the result of the workers having done too much work.

It is also erroneous for the Tariff Reformer and Free Traders to claim that an increase of trade means more employment in that trade. Dozens of trades could be named where the output has increased although the number employed is less or the same as with a smaller output.

This is accomplished by means of *weagesaving* devices, more perfected machinery, the splitting up of processes and speeding up; also by the merging of several plants under one control, thus eliminating waste and duplication. The "Daily Mail's" Special Commissioner into the "Problem of No Work," said (6.10.08): "Constantly, too, I have had labor-saving machinery indicated to me as a cause of much unemployment. . . . Almost everywhere the tendency is to employ fewer hands and to require less technical ability. I heard an echo of this at Fulham. Local gasworks have been turning men off for some time past. Coke can now be broken and retorts can now be emptied by machinery. Men with 20 and 30 years' experience from the Gas Co. have been applying to the Distress Committee for a few days' digging or dirt shovelling. Anything that will give them a chance to earn something. It is the same with a very large number of men following trades connected with the Building."

The policy of Free Trade and Tariff Reform both show their fallacy and they go to pieces in face of this fact, that no alteration of fiscal methods can prevent the use of the mightiest industrial weapon (the machine) that the capitalist has in rendering workers relatively superfluous, cheap, submissive, and in drawing into the vicious circle of modern factory life, the woman and the child. The very development of capitalism itself—whether tariffs exist or not—extends and intensifies this process.

Capitalist society, under Free Trade or Tariff Reform, cannot assure an existence to the makers of its wealth. The private ownership of the instruments, together with the results, of production, has shown that if social development is to proceed, Socialism must be instituted, i.e., a system of society wherein all those who labour shall jointly possess and use those things which are necessary to satisfy the wants of all.

Both Free Trade and Tariff Reform involve the sale by the worker and the purchase by the capitalist of value creating energy—the source of the wealth of capitalist society.

Economic development has made trade an anachronism, and the next step in social evolution, that is Socialism, means a system where trade, "free" or "protected," is rendered impossible by the fact of the common ownership of the means of wealth production.

Socialism therefore—a society wherein we have the free and equal association of the wealth producers, operating the means of production that they commonly own, making everything for use and for use alone—is the next stage in social progress. Onward! Speed the day!

A. KOHN.

## THE SALVATION ARMY AND THE WORKING CLASS.

### III. THE SOCIAL SCHEME.

*The indirect features of the scheme must not be such as to produce injury to the persons whom we seek to benefit.*

*While assisting one class of the community, it must not seriously interfere with the interests of another. In raising one section of the fallen, we must not thereby endanger the safety of those who with difficulty are keeping on their feet. . . . It is no use conferring sixpennyworth of benefit on a man if, at the same time, we do him a shillings worth of harm.*

—In Darkest England, page 81.

#### The Book that Made a Stir.

GENERAL BOOTH, when launching onto a sea of controversy his now celebrated book: "In Darkest England and the Way Out," told his readers that, from calculations he had made himself and from the figures supplied by various authorities on the subject, in these islands fully one-tenth of the population was hopelessly submerged. Hopelessly that is, so far as all previous efforts on their behalf were concerned. This section of the people he nicknamed with his cant phrase "the submerged tenth."

The purpose of his book was to arouse the public interest in these "lost ones," and to obtain financial support for the starting of his "social scheme."

We were shown at great length how hopelessly inadequate to cope with the evils of want and destitution had been the efforts of well-meaning reformers who worked in connection with various "charitable" agencies.

"It is no use trying to bale out the ocean with a pint pot," said he.\* What was wanted, we were told, was an all-embracing plan. "This scheme changes the circumstances of those whose poverty is caused by their misfortune. To begin with it finds work for the unemployed. This is the chief need."

#### The Legion of the Lost.

The way in which our octogenarian professor of philanthropy proposed to go to work may best be set forth in his own words:

The Social Problem presents itself before us whenever a hungry, dirty and ragged man stands at our door asking if we can give him a crust or a job. That is the social question. What are you to do with that man? He has no money in his pocket, all that he can pawn he has pawned long ago, his stomach is as empty as his purse, and the whole of the clothes upon his back, even if sold on the best terms, would not fetch a shilling. He asks for work, which he will set to even on his empty stomach and in his ragged uniform, if so be that you will give him something for it, but his hands are idle, for no one employs him. What are you to do with that man? . . . To deal with this man is the problem of the unemployed. To deal with him effectively you must deal with him immediately, you must provide him in some way or other with food, and shelter, and warmth. Next you must find him something to do, something that will test the reality of his desire to work. This test must be more or less temporary, and should be of such a nature as to prepare him for making a permanent livelihood. Then, having trained him, you must provide him wherewithal to start life afresh. All these things I propose to do. My Scheme divides itself into three sections, each of which is indispensable for the success of the whole. In this three-fold organisation lies the open secret of the solution of the Social Problem.

The Scheme I have to offer consists in the formation of these people into self-helping and self-sustaining communities, each being a kind of cooperative society, or patriarchal family, etc. . . . These communities we will call, for want of a better term, Colonies.

There will be  
(1) The City Colony,  
(2) The Farm Colony,  
(3) The Over-Sea Colony.

(Before proceeding to our dissection of results we have troubled to quote Booth at some length, in order that those of our readers to whom "Darkest England" is inaccessible may gain a clear and definite idea as to what his main object was when he set out to conquer "the powers of evil" and bring about "a new heaven and a new earth.")

#### The "City" Colony.

By the phrase "City Colony" was meant a

"In Darkest England," page 253.

number of institutions which were to act as "Harbours of Refuge." Into these havens were to be gathered all who had been "ship wrecked." Food and shelter were to be provided in return for work. Employment found for him, the mariner wrecked on life's stormy sea was to be rescued and "reformed." He was then to be restored to the joyful bosom of his happy family, or (in case the said happy family were not having any) he was to be passed on to the Colony of the second class.

The second stage in this new Pilgrim's Progress was intended to work out as follows:

#### Farms for the Famished.

The Salvation Army would buy land near some great city (the neighbourhood of London being chosen for the first experiment). Buildings would be erected and a farm stocked. The "wretched outcast" having passed through the refining fires of the city shelter and workshop, was then to be dumped down into a real live farm—there to be taught the whole art of husbandry.

In fine a regular "Garden City" would arise wherein our friend the W.O. would work out his economic and moral salvation.

Just here we may note a significant remark of the General's when discussing the prospects of this portion of his scheme.\*

As the scheme progresses, it is not irrational to expect that Government, or some of the varied Local authorities will assist in the working out of a plan which, in so marked a manner, will relieve the rates and taxes of the country.

(The last passage was not originally italicised.)

In our examination of the actual, every-day working of this famous scheme, we shall have occasion to again refer to this pious hope that the "authorities" would patronise the concern. He then goes on to say: "From the Farm, as from the City . . . large numbers would be restored to friends up and down the country. Some would find employment in their own callings" (thereby pushing others out and lowering the rate of wages), "others would settle in cottages on a small piece of land that we should provide, or on Co-operative Farms which we intend to promote; while the great bulk, after trial and training, would be passed on to the Foreign Settlement, which would constitute our third class, viz., the Over Sea Colony."

As the last-named section of the Scheme has up to the present failed to materialise, we shall not let it worry us.

#### The Return of the "Golden Age."

The Scheme, in its entirety, was, in the General's own words:

To draw up these poor outcasts, reforming them, and creating in them habits of industry, honesty, and truth . . . forwarding from the City to the Country, and there continuing the process of regeneration, and then pouring them forth on to the virgin soils that await their coming in other lands. Why not?

And Echo—after twenty years of scheming and planning, with money poured out like water; after twenty years of "food and shelter depôts," Elevators, City and Farm Colonies, *et hoc genus omne*; after twenty years of bluff and brag in the capitalist Press, self-denial weeks and special collections—shouts across this awful waste of time, "WHY NOT?"

#### The Answer.

The answer must be because the whole "Darkest England" Scheme from top to bottom has proved a gigantic fraud and failure. In our detailed examination of the actual working of the Scheme, reviewing the various divisions in their due order as set forth by Booth in his *Vade-mecum*, much damning evidence in support of our statement will come to light.

At the base of the "Social Scheme" were to be the food and shelter depôts of the City Colony. It was proposed to establish in connection with every Food and Shelter depôt a workshop or labour-yard (ominous term) in which any person who came destitute and starving would be supplied with sufficient work to enable him to earn the 4d. needed for his bed and board.

The Salvation Army's official figures for 1908 tell us that nearly six million meals were supplied at cheap food depôts, and over two million cheap lodgings for the homeless were provided.

\* "In Darkest England," page 249.

### Specious and Misleading Advertisements.

Judging from the advertisements which appear under the "Army's" axis daily in the papers—of which the subjoined taken from the *Westminster Gazette* is a fair sample—anyone not in the know would naturally imagine that the 6,000 poor referred to had only to present themselves in all their abject misery at a Shelter, and lo and behold! they would be welcomed with open arms.

#### "STARVATION AND MISERY

are found on every hand among the Poor and Outcast by the Officers of the SALVATION ARMY who live among them, and are qualified to help them in the most economical and able manner. PRAY SEND HELP for so needy a work. £150,000 annually needed for the Army's Central Funds alone. Over 6,000 Poor sleep in the Home nightly. 170 Branches of Social and Relief work are in operation.

Please address cheques (crossed) Bank of England, Law Courts Branch") to GENERAL BOOTH, 101, Queen Victoria-street, London. Balance-sheets forwarded."

In reality nothing of the kind takes place. "I was a stranger and ye took me in." Yes, but there's an if. The tune they play at the door is "The Absent Minded Beggar" with its haunting refrain of "Pay! Pay! Pay!" There is no work test applied at these "poor men's hostels," and the "crowd of hungry, desperate wretches, without even a penny in their pouch, demanding food and shelter"—over whose wages twenty long years ago William the saintly waxes so tearfully eloquent—unless they can furnish the needful coin of the realm, are met with that sternest of all arguments on a winter's night, a closed door!

(To be continued.)

## THE PATRIARCH AND THE MOTE.

HYNDMAN on compromise ought to be funny. The "International Socialist Review" for February provides the interesting combination. Come, let us guffaw together.

It is a long article and contains the usual verbal hydrogen which bulks so largely and weighs so little; the usual Hyndmanichysteria and verbal stage-strutting in which the patriarch delights. The smile comes in when one reflects on the little omissions that appear to have been made. As instance: "In order to make sure of retaining their seats in the House of Commons at the General Election, both the Labour Party and the I.L.P. have come to terms with the Liberals in a manner which must shake all confidence in them in the future." This, of course, is all very horrible, and no doubt deserves all the vituperation of which Mr. Hyndman is capable, but we do not observe any reference to Herbert Burrows' letter to the *Daily Chronicle* asking for Liberal support. We agree that "when a body of men returned to Parliament to represent Labour interests exclusively and independently, enter upon a whole series of bargaining with the national and local organisers of one of the great capitalist factions . . . they do an amount of mischief to the whole movement which they do not comprehend;" but we must confess our inability to discover the remotest difference between that action and the slimy evolution of Quelch and the S.D.P. at Northampton. The Liberals of the bot metropolis are not decidedly differentiated from the Liberals of the rest of this country. On what grounds shall we exclude the Northampton attempted deal from the "whole series of bargainings"? Logic supplies no answer other than the thoroughly patent fact that the S.D.P. and the I.L.P. differ in nothing but their initials. And even this difference is got over locally by selecting another set, such as L.R.C., T. & L.C., or what not, under cover of which intrigue, chicanery and political poltroonery receive different values. The pure and spotless S.D.P. as a party, tire not in their denunciation of the foul and rotten Labour Party, but no objection is raised to segments of the pure and unspotted former allying with the specked and flyblown latter, also in segments.

Without going over ground already covered in our columns we would like to contrast the ponderous piffle of the patriarch with actual

recent events. "No compromise must be our motto and our policy from the first and all through," he says. Then please explain Cambridge, Haggerston, Northampton, etc. . . . Let us take all we can get, but never let us sink our principles, or lower our flag, for any consideration whatever." Contrast this with Quelch's reply to a questioner: "If we cannot get anything better than the Budget, I shall vote for the Budget." Supplement the latter with Hyndman's "a Budget which I do not hesitate to declare is as outrageous a fraud upon the people of the United Kingdom as any swindle which even the Liberals have as yet perpetrated—and that is saying a great deal." Quite interesting, isn't it? Says Hyndman: "No Socialist can admit the right of the House of Lords to throw out the House of Commons' Budget, however bad it may be in principle and application." And again (same article): "I look with sadness, not unmingled with contempt, on the manner in which the Socialists of the Labour Party have surrendered to the capitalist Liberals on the Budget, on the House of Lords and on the General Election." And so on.

There is quite a touch of sadness in the sentence where he looks back, at the age of sixty-eight, over his thirty years of Socialist effort, and realises that he will not see its fruition in the Co-operative Commonwealth. But does Mr. Hyndman think it will be brought nearer by the advocacy of more Dradnoughts and the adoption of a modification of conscription, as suggested by himself and jingo Blatchford at Burnley. We who are nearer twenty-eight can join in deploring the non-imminence of the Socialist Republic, but the tears of regret do not blind us to the fact that every year of the S.D.P.'s further existence puts the Revolution back ten. And we are out to smash you. We are young, most of us of the S.P.G.B., but we are awake. We were born slaves, we are slaves now, but we are not going to die slaves if we can help it. Life is very rapid. A little twink of time and we are no more. The sweets of life are very meagre and Capitalism has the larger hand. Capitalism has got to go. The S.D.P. by its program of patches, immediate demands and general piffle, stands, wittingly or no, for its continuance. So the S.D.P. must go too. Every year we knock off its life brings Socialism and sunshine ten years nearer. Says Hyndman in concluding: "It is for us to take care that we hand on the torch of revolutionary Social Democracy . . . to those who shall in turn take up the splendid task from us." There are signs, however, that this curiously named fire-brand will burn itself out even before Hyndman & Co. relinquish it, and then perhaps the path may be the more clearly seen in the absence of its reeking smoke and uncertain flicker.

WILFRED.

### HOW TO BE INDEPENDENT.

AFTER the General Election came the L.C.C. elections. The Labour Party and I.L.P. ran candidates in eight constituencies, but it is not true to say *contested*, as in only one of the eight did they run a full ticket.

As is well known, each constituency has two seats, yet the "Independent" Labour Party ran only one man in each of seven districts. Why? Because they knew their position was hopeless without the help of the progressives (Liberals). They ran two candidates at Woolwich only, where the Progressives had none. Even then they lost.

In Bermondsey and Kennington where the Progressives ran two official candidates, the I.L.P.s were defeated. In B.W. and Bromley, North Lambeth, and Poplar the one-and-one idea was followed with the result that Lansbury, F. Smith and Enser were elected. And Mr. Robert Williams claims these as Socialist victories and calls the three a "Socialist group!"

Another I.L.P. member—C. L. Jenson—followed the example of the Fabians and ran as a Progressive in Waltham, and was returned.

Evidently the I.L.P. idea of "independence" embraces bargains and joint candidatures with their supposed enemies. These are their boasted "glorious victories," the fruits of their superior tactics and ability. But the workers may be sure that the "Independents" will support the Progressives every whit as heartily at Spring Gardens as the Labour Party does the Liberals at Westminster, and for the same reason—their seats are the gift of the capitalists. J. F.



## OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions for the Socialist Standard, articles correspondence and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed, The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 10, Sandland Street, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable.

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## The Socialist Standard,



SUNDAY, MAY 1, 1910.

## Our Position.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, during the last General Election, took up the only attitude the working class, conscious of its own position, can assume, viz., contemptuous indifference for the intrigues of its masters for political power, with a determination of pushing the working-class point of view forward as the only one interesting it.

The capitalist class in selecting those questions upon which to summon its supporters among the workers to rally, necessarily has to choose from among those making the widest appeal, and the explanation of the "democratic" tendency imparted to modern electioneering is that the working class has to bulk largely in the programme in order to be persuaded to lend its polling strength to this or that set of the masters' political servants. The Election of this year was eminently typical of this in placing so far to the front the question of those constitutional changes alleged to be designed for the safeguarding of the privileges of the "democracy" on the one side, and the more direct appeal to sections of workers on behalf of fiscal changes ostensibly designed for the purpose of improving trade and mitigating, if not solving, the particularly working-class question of unemployment on the other.

The utterly fraudulent nature of the first position is clear from the arguments put forward by the Peers themselves and their apologists in the Commons. The virtual rejection of the Budget was not effected directly by the Lords as a right, but was done in the name of democracy by referring it to the ultimate tribunal—the people; since when, those who support this action have been protesting that it never was, or will be, the intention of the Lords to stand between the definitely expressed will of the people and its legislative outcome. The very fact that they should have seen fit to cloak their action under the guise of democracy makes it abundantly clear that they recognise the undoubted power of the "people," as represented in the Commons, to legislate in their own way at their own pleasure. The "Constitutional outrage," therefore, that was put forward sufficiently successfully to invoke the support of the S.D.P. in shouting "Down with the House of Lords," has no terror for the Socialist desiring to give expression to his readiness for the economic change he seeks, because he knows that, no matter how often you refer the question of Socialism to a Socialist working class, the vote will necessarily be "for" every time, and any such delay but strengthens his hand when the Peers give way. Which is not to say they will give way as readily on so vital a matter to their interests as Socialism, as they will on such an issue as the Budget, but the alleged "outrage," so far as their defence has been carried, specifically maintains the final decision to rest with the people themselves. More than that no Socialist requires. It is not conceivable that Socialism

can be forced on an unwilling or unready working class, who, when converted, can under existing political conditions—"outrage" as well—say so.

The "Tariff Reform" nostrum requires little demolishing. If all that were claimed for it by its advocates were taken as granted—in increased business included—the position of the workers would still manifest the same relative position of poverty amid the increasing wealth they produce, and would still demand the same solution—ownership of the instruments they use.

That Socialist objective is the only thing that matters to us who are Socialists. Its achievement is possible whenever the bulk of our fellows are of like opinion, however the political or other barriers are arranged by our opponents, the capitalist class; and its achievement is not possible while we have a minority, under any conceivable political or social circumstances. To produce that majority is the immediate object of the Socialist, by which time the movements of our rulers may have created a position entirely different from the present one in its political aspect. But in those movements we can have no part: they concern them, not us. We know that the economic position of our class is incapable of any essential improvement within the limits of capitalism, and are therefore out for its abolition, and we refuse to stay our hand from that work for anything any section of the masters like to propose for our temporary benefit economically, or for the alleged purpose of facilitating our movement politically. It is thus we make ourselves Socialists in the present, and it is thus we shall win Socialism in the future.

The present political situation makes more than ever necessary the Party which alone in this country is emphasising the need for conscious working-class action along political lines for the realisation of Socialism—the Socialist Party of Great Britain.

## OUR SIXTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE.

THE Sixth Annual Conference of the Socialist Party of Great Britain was held at Fairfax Hall, Harringay, N., on Friday and Saturday, March 25th and 26th.

Comrade R. H. Kent (Stoke Newington) was elected to the chair. The Credentials Committee reported 39 Delegates present, representing 18 Branches.

The Report of the retiring Executive Committee was very gratifying. It recorded an encouraging advance in all directions. A good number of new members had been enrolled during the year, and new branches had been formed—at East Ham and Walthamstow. The financial outlook had greatly improved, enabling more effective work to be done. The circulation of the Party Organ had made marked progress, while there had been a very gratifying increase in the number of contributors.

50,000 copies of the Election Manifesto had been issued, with very good results. A pamphlet on "Socialism and Religion" had been completed and was now in the Press.

Numerous debates had been held throughout the year, and the Party's position had been placed before many other organisations.

Three branches had contested local elections, making good use of the opportunity for a vigorous propaganda.

The Treasurer's report confirmed the E.C. in financial matters, and showed a substantial balance in hand, while the report of the Organiser was particularly satisfactory, both regarding the past year and the prospects for that to come. In the provinces in particular the outlook was much brighter.

The "Items for Discussion" brought forward a number of members and delegates in a debate of high merit. Many young members took part, adding no mean contribution to the important and interesting discussion that followed.

Space does not permit me to report, even briefly, the points raised, but the calibre of our younger speakers assures me that our speakers list will be very greatly augmented in the near future.

The Conference was adjourned on the Friday evening to make way for the Annual Social, which was an unqualified success in all respects, and in attendance eclipsed all others. W. K.

## JOTTINGS.

Mr. J. E. Sutton is one of the "Labour" M.P.s who was pledged to abstain from identifying himself with any party not affiliated to the Labour Party. This is how he did it.

The *Manchester Guardian* (8.1.10) reported a "Remarkable meeting at Arwick," where in answer to a question Mr. Sutton said:

"Mr. Zimmerman had magnanimously retired on his own initiative to give the Labour candidate a far better chance than he would have had in a three cornered contest." (Loud cheers.)

"The Chairman, Mr. T. Lowth, added that Mr. Zimmerman's very graceful action in retiring would materially benefit the Labour chances. He was quite sure that it was Mr. Zimmerman's desire that all Liberals in the division should work and vote for Mr. Sutton. Mr. Zimmerman had helped them in many a struggle and would help them again.

"The Rev. J. E. Roberts, who was received with great enthusiasm, said: 'This is the first time that I have stood on a Labour platform, and I am here as a Liberal.' (Applause.) 'I do hope that every Liberal in this division will work strenuously and earnestly to return Mr. Sutton to Parliament for this division. The fact is that we are both fighting for our very lives. Liberalism and Labour are fighting for their political existence, and it is not a time for us to be considering chiefly the things to divide, but it is a time for us to be working shoulder to shoulder together.' Applause."

The Rev. Roberts also gave utterance to the following gem:

"Tariff 'Reform' meant more money for the rich and more poverty for the poor. Anything that meant more money for the rich and more poverty for the poor was immoral."

Seeing that under Free Trade we have had "more money for the rich and more poverty for the poor," the Rev. gentleman is evidently between the devil and the deep sea. Another deduction from the above extracts is that seeing Mr. Sutton was so completely identified with and supported by the Liberal Party, the latter must be affiliated to the Labour Party, as it would be more than we dare do to suggest that Mr. Sutton broke the constitution of the last named fragment of an organisation.

\* \* \*

On the Mid-Glamorgan result the *Manchester Guardian* of April 2nd last says:

"It is plain from recent results that Labour members owe their election in very many cases to effective Liberal support. The knowledge that this is so, and that their votes are needed to ensure the safe return of most Labour members, imposes on Liberals a serious responsibility."

Tact is required on both sides, and the eve of the issue of a writ is a bad time for settling differences and employing the necessary give and take—things which should have been done long before when no contest was imminent. The Chief Liberal Whip has done well, therefore, in at once calling a meeting of Welsh Liberal members representing mining constituencies to consider the situation and, if possible, prevent the split in Glamorgan and the exasperation such a conflict must tend to engender from spreading further. The same assuaging and preventing action might well be taken in other parts of the country. The interests of Liberalism and Labour in all its various political expressions were never more completely one than now, and it would be suicidal were they not to join forces against the common foe."

Evidently the shadow of a General Election calls for a disciplining of the "local" men on either side, and the Liberal Whip's action in Wales is a straw showing the direction of the political wind—an indication of the even closer (if such a thing be possible) drawing together of the two wings of the Liberal Party.

J. B. F.

## CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.

"Is Socialism Atheism? A Prejudiced Answer" by JAMES ADDERLEY, of the Church Socialist League. 1d. Frank Palmer.]

THE value of this apology for the brain-softening affliction known as "Christian Socialism" may be gathered from a few quotations.

"Socialism," says Mr. Adderley, "whatever it may have meant in days gone by, now means the Movement going on in all civilised countries towards a gradual change in the social system by which the State (that is the whole community, rich and poor alike) shall eventually own and control collectively for the common benefit the land and capital which is now, for the most part, owned and controlled individually for private profit."

To know whether Socialism is Atheism it is obviously necessary to know, first of all, what Socialism is, and Mr. Adderley fails, consequently, at the very outset. His definition describes State Capitalism. His ideal is a nation organised into a kind of huge post office. "The poor ye have always with you," Christ is reported to have said, and his faithful minister sees "rich and poor alike" even in the state of society he conceives as his ideal.

Starting with such a false definition of Socialism, the rest of Mr. Adderley's pamphlet is wasted labour as far as his argument is concerned, but it is so typical of the mentality of the "Christian Socialist" that it may detain us a little longer. The very phraseology is of a piece with the rest—"Movement going on . . . rich and poor alike . . . shall eventually . . . for the most part."

His definition of Atheism is equally precise.

"A Christian who says he believes in God but manages his business without regard to honesty or justice or mercy is practically an Atheist. A man who says he does not believe in God but tries to be honest and just and merciful is less of an Atheist than the other. . . . Socialism, if it makes for justice, mercy, brotherhood, etc., (only one "etc.," Mr. Printer), "cannot be called Godless or Atheist even if its professors say that they do not believe in religion," and so on.

We do not, of course, disagree with everything Mr. Adderley says. We agree, for example, that "The Labour Party in Parliament consists to a great extent of rather puritanically minded, unorthodox Christians." (Page 11.)

He also states that Mr. Keir Hardie himself said in his (Mr. Adderley's) hearing some 15 years ago: "Send me to Parliament for the sake of those for whom Christ died." We understand that Mr. Hardie's meaning was, of course, "For Christ's sake send me to Parliament!"

How little knowledge Mr. Adderley has of "human nature," Socialism, or of sociology in general may be seen from the conclusion of his pamphlet:

"This is a dream: it is against human nature," says the Anti-Socialist.

"I grant you it is a dream. I grant you it is against human nature as we know it."

"Human nature" is a tough nut to crack. But my religion impels me to believe that it can be redeemed and changed by the power of Him who came to save mankind."

To the understanding mind Mr. Adderley's brochure is yet another demonstration of the incompatibility of Socialism with Christianity, in spite of the fact that it contains no discussion of the question worthy the name. Its title, indeed, is unjustified. It could have been entitled, with a much greater degree of justification, "From Nebulæ to Balderdash." Perhaps it is not yet too late. I offer the suggestion for what it is worth.

F.C.W.

## THE NEW PAMPHLET.

## The CAPITALIST CLASS,

By KARL KAUTSKY,

Is now ready and can be obtained from the Head Office: Price 1½d. post free

## PARTY NOTES.

With the opening of the summer propaganda season, comrades are urged to redouble their efforts. The Party's success continues to inspire enthusiasm in its adherents and dismay among its detractors—this is as it should be. Let the battle be engaged all along the line. Raise the circulation of the Socialist Standard to 10,000 monthly before the season closes and justify your existence.

\* \* \*

A branch of the Party has been formed at Woolwich and Socialists living in the neighbourhood should immediately get into communication with Geo. Ayres, 452, Woolwich Road, Charlton, who is acting as local secretary.

A branch has also been formed at Worthing, near Brighton, for details see Branch Directory. Socialists residing in or around Surbiton are requested to communicate with Wm. Tolton, 50 Douglas Road, Surbiton, with a view to forming a branch there.

\* \* \*

While speaking for the Social-Democratic Party at Nottingham recently a Mr. Carmichael of Battersea, London, was somewhat severely tackled by our comrades there. He then threw out a challenge to debate the claim of the S.P.G.B. to the confidence of the working class. Previous experience of S.D.P. bluster led our comrades to request Mr. Carmichael to put the challenge in writing—a thing he declined to do, asserting that he had already issued similar challenges to the S.P.G.B., and it had failed to take them up.

He further stated that if we wanted him we knew where to find him—he was so well known! Exactly, we do know where to find him; and this is to tell him that his statement given above is simply untrue. The only occasion known to us when Mr. Carmichael issued such a challenge was on Sunday, 27th September, 1908. It was at once accepted on behalf of the Party, and our representative was appointed. Then followed a correspondence culminating on 21st of October in Mr. Carmichael writing that his branch had decided that unless admission was restricted to members of Socialist organisations they should take no part in arranging the meeting. There the matter rests. When Mr. Carmichael can get his party to endorse his publicly uttered challenges he will not have to wait long for our representative. With Mr. Carmichael, or anyone else, representing the S.D.P., we will willingly arrange a debate, but Mr. Carmichael representing Mr. Carmichael must be satisfied to occupy our platform on the ordinary conditions. At all our meetings opposition is welcomed by our Socialist Dreadnoughts. Were the stipulation of Mr. Carmichael's branch accepted there could of course be no debate, as it would rule Mr. Carmichael himself outside.

\* \* \*

Writing of debates, the encounter between Mr. Percy Alden, M.P. and our comrade Anderson duly came off on the evening of April 1st., and proved a huge success from our point of view. The hall was crowded and many hundreds unfortunately were turned away, the doors having to be closed before the advertised time of opening the debate. The collection taken up was more than sufficient to cover all the expenses of the meeting. The debate was extensively reported in the capitalist Press, from which we quote the following: "The very spacious hall of the Earlsmear School, Tottenham, was densely crowded on Friday night, the attraction being a public debate on 'Is the Liberal Party deserving of the support of the Working Class?' Mr. Percy Alden, M.P., took the affirmative, and the opposer was Mr. A. Anderson, of the Socialist Party of Great Britain. . . . No resolution was put to the meeting on the question debated, but the feeling of those present was obvious in the course of the speeches, Mr. Anderson coming in for considerable applause, and Mr. Alden's statements being greeted often with derision."

\* \* \*

Another splendid piece of propaganda work was done on the occasion of the Celebration of the Commune of Paris. A largely attended and enthusiastic meeting was held in the Caleonian Road Baths, North London, on March 21st. The meeting reflected credit up on the activities of our Islington members.

## MODERN SOCIALISM.

"Modern Socialism" (3rd edition, R.C.K. Ensor, Harper Brothers.)

If a writer on modern biology were to begin by stating that the basis of that subject, in its modern aspect, was laid by Darwin and Wallace, and then devoted the larger portion of his space to the anti-Darwinians' statements and writings as an exposition of modern biology, he would be denounced on all hands as one quite unfit for the task he had set himself to perform.

It is just such a position as this that Mr. Ensor occupies with regard to modern Socialism.

In the Introduction to the first edition (1907) he says of Marx, Engels and Lassalle:

"Their ideas made an epoch, because with them two decisive qualities first come to the front in Socialism—the scientific and the political." (Page XXXII.)

Without troubling to question the inclusion of Lassalle in the list, the above statement would be accepted as correct by all Socialists. Then it follows that a correct exposition of modern Socialism can be given by a survey of the statements of Marx and Engels, or their followers, and by no other method.

Yet in the volume under notice, apart from a couple of articles on the general view of Socialism and excluding the various programmes at the end of the book, over 190 pages are given to the views of the avowed anti-Marxians—S. and B. Webb, Millerand, Vollmar, David Jaures, Hervé, Sarraute, Vandervelde, Anseele, Keir Hardie, John Burns, and the Fabian Society—while only 55 are given to the views of Marx, Engels, Liebknecht, Bebel and Kautsky.

Least any Fabian or "practical" Labour Party advocate should find fault with Mr. Ensor for devoting so much space as given above to the so-called Marxian section, let us hasten to point out first that the only statement of Marx's is taken from the Communist Manifesto, and consists of the list of reforms at the end of Section II! When it is remembered that as long ago as 1872 Marx and Engels declared in a new preface that this portion in particular had become obsolete, Mr. Ensor's object begins to peep through.

Secondly, on page XXXVI of the introduction to the first edition we are told:

"It seemed desirable in this volume to give some excerpts from one of the many general discussions between revolutionaries and reformists, which have occurred in the great European parties. For this purpose the Millerand debate at the Bordeaux Congress of the French Socialist party has been chosen."

And how is this purpose carried out? By devoting 21 pages to the discussion, of which 4 are given to Millerand, 13 to Jaures, 3 to Sarraute and 1 to Hervé. All these are reformers and anti-Marxians, while no Marxian speech is given at all?

Evidently Mr. Ensor's idea of excerpts from a discussion is to give one side and ignore the other.

Similarly with regard to agriculture and peasant proprietorship. On page XLI it is stated that "the nearest approach to a *volte-face* which Socialists have attempted since Marx has been in relation to Agrarianism. . . . Marx thought that the advantage of concentrating capital would be felt in agriculture as in other industries; but in spite of a temporary confirmation of this view by the mammoth farms which sprang up in Western America, it now appears very doubtful."

Yet the very article chosen to defend this view by the "most brilliant, up to date and elastic exponent . . . M. Vandervelde," proves up to the hilt the correctness of Marx's view by showing how the number of peasant proprietors in Belgium had been reduced to "barely a few thousands, who can still painfully, by a hard toil, by a real exploitation of themselves and their families make the two ends meet. The rest have fallen into the proletariat, or cultivate for someone else's profit; and this diminution of cultivating ownership in consequence of insufficient capital, of partition due to the laws of inheritance, of the ever-growing aggravation of fiscal and military charges, is to be found indicated in the official statistics." (Page 206. Italics ours.)



Far from being a real description of modern Socialism, the book has been written to defend the job-hunting bargains of the I.L.P. and Labour Party under the guise of showing how the Continental "Socialists" do the same thing, and thereby to justify the actions of those who claim to be Socialists here. This is shown not only by the great preponderance of space given to the Reformists, but also by the fact that though two editions of the work have been published since a party based on Marxian principles was formed in this country in 1904—the Socialist Party of Great Britain—no reference to it is made anywhere in the book. The old I.L.P. absurdity that Socialism means the Socialisation of capital is again trotted out. Capital being the instrument of exploitation, to talk of "Socialising" it is a contradiction in terms. The statement in the preface to the third edition that "the second piece by M. Millerand and the piece by Mr. Burns might not have been chosen to-day after the final secession of their authors from the ranks of regular Socialism" (sic) merely expresses the chagrin felt by the Labour Party managers at the success of Burns in making an individual bargain with the Liberals.

At the head of Burns' article is a note saying "after 1895 he drew closer to the Liberal Party." This is utterly incorrect. As shown in the Socialist Standard for January 1906, Burns openly avowed his full adhesion to the Liberal Party in 1893, when, in the House of Commons, he defended Asquith over the shooting of the miners at Featherstone. Yet when the Labour Group was first formed in Parliament after the establishment of the Labour Representation Committee, John Burns was made its first chairman. It was not going over to the Liberals that was a crime from the Labour Party's standpoint—that was the game they were playing themselves and in which they were successful in 1906—but the individual bargaining was the sin.

As a collection of the views of various reformers, at home and abroad, the book has a certain value; as an exposition of modern Socialism it is entirely misleading, while the confusion existing in the mind of the author is shown by the following gem: "Socialism is essentially an appeal (!) on behalf of the interests of one class, the proletarians, against what the other, the capitalists, conceive to be theirs. Socialists can either emphasize this contrast, the Class War, and rely wholly on conscious proletarian support, or they can take the line rather of reconciling the opposition in a higher unity, the Solidarity of Classes, pleading with the capitalists that they have misconceived their interest and that the true interest of all the community is that of the workers." (Page XXXV.)

It was probably due to this mental condition that Mr. Ensor, when running as Labour candidate for Poplar at the late L.C.C. elections, advised the workers, on his programme, to vote for the other capitalist candidate—Sir John McDougall. J. FITZGERALD.

## CORRESPONDENCE

[TO THE EDITOR.]

Strange as it may seem, I, one of the army of workers, the class which is the only useful class, am classed as above. And I am unemployed; I can find no man who will give me work to do, that I may earn sufficient to keep the life within me. I can work; I like to work; I can't get it.

Not alone, however. I take up the daily papers; I read of the great things a Liberal Government is doing for the class I belong to.

I read of their latest benefaction, an institution in each town where we unemployed men and women may go and register our names and qualifications, so that intending employers may look over the books and pick out the suitable ones. And I read that in every place where such exchanges have been opened, a struggling mob of masterless beings have fought to have their names placed on the lists—4,000 in Manchester on the opening day, many more in London, from every industrial centre there comes word of hundreds of men like myself, wanting a master and finding none.

I see it is the beginning of a brighter day for English workers; that honest workers at last

have found their chance. A minister of Christ speaking last week said in a short time all loafers and idlers will be known by name throughout England, and that this was desirable to the honest man willing to do a day's work. I am one of those honest men, but I have been more fortunate than others in having a roof over my head and plenty to eat while I hunted for the elusive job.

But I ask myself what inducement has any man to remain one of these honest workers, when he has worked so hard as to nearly break down in health, helped also by the knowledge that another waited for his place when he failed. Some day he is told that his services are no longer required, as business is slack. In vain he looks for a job; he sees the same thing is common all around; men who have worked their best are flung out to the cold at another's whim. What is there in honest labor? A fortune for the lazy man who owns the job, starvation for the poor wretch who is bought to work the job.

I also see where a progressive muck-raker (literary) has discovered that by going about the thing properly, double the money made by a casual labourer can be made by artistic begging.

But the man who does that is a loafer; the man who begs for work an honest working man, much lauded by the clergy and other intellectual prostitutes. Both beg for the same thing—a living. The one starves but is praised for his virtues; the other lives and is cursed for his vices.

The dawn of a brighter day will come, methinks, when the other slaves discover as I have done, that we are mere bundles of merchandise, bought and sold in the market for the price of subsistence, though in ourselves having the power to create many times more wealth than we never get.

The reason we starve is because, our wages equalling only a small portion of the wealth we create, we are unable to buy it all back. The remedy is to dispossess our masters of the power they hold by government to-day, and remove ourselves from the category of merchandise, make ourselves men, by the simple act of getting control of the forces of Nature and using them for the benefit of all instead of for a class of parasites.

There can be no unemployed then—all can supply their needs whenever they choose to do so. No more "honest workers"; no more idle loafers, but a race of MEN. F. S. F.

### REPLY TO JAMES FLETCHER.

The Social-Democratic Party in Germany occupies a similar position to the party similarly named here. Its programme (the Erfurt Program) consists of the theoretical part, based on the teachings of Marx—the Materialist Concept of History, the Surplus Value theory and the Class Struggle—and the practical, consisting of reforms and palliatives; and we allege that the whole existence of the German S.D.P. has been spent in the advocacy of those reforms, to the detriment of Socialist propaganda. In the early days of our party we held the erroneous view—still entertained by the S.L.P. of Gt. Britain and America—that the German workers must obtain certain reforms because the revolution from feudalism to capitalism was not complete. But we found that conditions there make a Socialist Party quite as possible as here. A small number of members of the German S.D.P. take up our position and work for the formation of a straight party. As to our use of the expression "our German comrades," it was a sorry state of affairs while we were not in a position to express ourselves, while Bebel's action in 1906 speaks for itself.

R. VON BERG (Queen's Park).—The oath of allegiance to the King required of M.P.s would not prevent a Socialist M.P. taking his seat.

### BURNLEY BRANCH, S. P. G. B.

### PROPAGANDA MEETINGS.

HELD IN THE  
MARKET PLACE EVERY SUNDAY  
EVENING AT 7.30.

QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION INVITED.

## S.D.P. BEFOGGED.

For some weeks past a discussion has been carried on in the columns of our contemporary, "Justice," a periodical which presumably claims to be a Socialist journal, on the above question. The mere fact of such a subject being debated is sufficient to prove that the publication referred to is not an organ of Socialist thought, and that the party for which it speaks does not understand the principles of Socialism.

We find in the discussion under consideration, many and various policies advocated; but even the slightest study of the records of the S.D.P. will reveal the fact that politically they are all at sixes and sevens. Add to this the obvious fact that after thirty years of political existence they do not know what to do with the chief weapon for working-class emancipation, and we see that so far are they from being Socialists, that they are still floundering in the morass of Capitalist philosophy.

The use of the vote is no problem to Socialists, because their whole thought and action is based on the recognition of the class struggle. By this term is meant the struggle that must exist when, in society, one section owns all the means of wealth production, while the other section, owning nothing but the energy in their bodies, have to sell their energy to obtain a living. Between these two sections—capitalists and workers—a bitter war rages.

The class struggle—of which the foregoing is an explanation—forms a part of the basis of Socialist principles, and anyone rejecting the same either does not understand those principles, or is deliberately misleading the working class. In either case he is of no use to the proletariat.

Of such is the kingdom of the I.L.P. and the S.D.P., with which latter body I am, for the time being, more immediately concerned.

The first significant note in this controversy was struck by Mr. T. Stanley Mercer, in "Justice" (Feb. 5th, 1910), who put the question: "Is there any possible means of finding out definitely the actual policies pursued by the I.L.P. and S.D.P.?"

He says when he first joined the I.L.P. there was no greater authority than himself on the "ways and objects of the Party" (a large order to start with, as Keir Hardie, Philip Snowden, Ramsay MacDonald & Co. must have been lesser lights by comparison), but as months grew into years he felt less and less certain of his position, etc.

The mere possibility of asking the query with which Mr. Mercer opens his letter is sufficient to show that these parties do not act according to Socialist principles, but that their actions are governed by the exigencies of vote and seat capturing at any price.

Mr. Mercer further says "I think the worst shock I have had was . . . when an I.L.P. member, on having his position challenged, retorted, 'You're trying to obscure the constitutional issue by dragging the red herring of Socialism before the members of the I.L.P.'!"

There are the people who are going to emancipate the workers some day—perhaps.

No, so far from accomplishing that will they be, that they will only lead the workers into the Desert of Reform, and so make them the more secure victims for capitalist exploitation. Now for the S.D.P.

Mr. J. Maclean, writing in "Justice" for Feb. 12th, 1910, deals with local affairs at Pollokshaws (Glasgow). He says amongst other things: "If we had no candidate we always issued a manifesto, supplemented by public meetings, to advise the voters which candidate to reject." He also says: "Encouraged by our success in local elections, we thought it expedient to experiment with the General Election by adopting similar tactics, although not with the unanimous consent of the branch."

So there are some members, at least, who see the light.

Socialist policy should at no time be governed by expediency for "experiments" or otherwise, but should at all times be decided by principle and principle alone.

I suppose that Maclean and others like him would say: "Of two evils choose the lesser." But Liberalism and Toryism both stand for the same thing—Capitalism, and working-class exploitation—and voting for one in preference

to the other will not alter the fact that they are both the enemy.

But the gem of the whole matter is the contribution by Mr. H. Quelch, editor of the "official organ of the Social-Democracy," whatever that may mean.

Dealing with a complaint by Maclean in the previous issue, where that gentleman said: "Had a special conference been convened, or had the E.C. given a definitely clear lead, there might have been the possibility of united action," Quelch says: "there is not yet among the general body of our members, and still less among sympathisers, a clear conception of what political action should mean for Social-Democrats." (Italics are ours.)

That is, in common parlance, "they dunno where they are."

Nothing more unkind than this has yet been said of them even by any member of the S.P.G.B. Socialists, on the other hand, have got that "clear conception," the lack of which amongst the Social Democrats is so deeply deplored by Mr. Quelch.

"In order to gain that clear conception," says Mr. Quelch, "it is necessary for it to be understood. First that we mean what we say when we declare that from our point of view there is absolutely nothing, fundamentally, to choose between the two parties—Liberal and Tory" (that, it seems, is why Quelch & Co. are so frequently angling for Liberal—or Tory for that matter—support and votes); "second, that politics are not an end, but a means—not a question of principle at all, but of tactics," etc.

Now bearing in mind the premises laid down at the beginning of this article, I cannot believe that Quelch does not understand the position, therefore in view of this brilliant utterance, I am forced to the conclusion that he is deliberately obscuring the issue in order to confuse the working class.

This idea is further borne out on a perusal of the remainder of Quelch's illuminating (?) quota to the discussion. He says that to abstain from voting or to mark or spoil ballot papers "is not political action but inaction. Absolute abstention is simply disfranchisement; it is to withdraw ourselves from the political arena altogether, and leave it entirely free to our capitalist enemies for the continuance of their petty, superficial faction fight. Abstention pure and simple is to make ourselves as a party a negligible quantity, no matter how strong numerically we may become," and more to the same effect. He also says: "except for tactical purposes, there is absolutely no reason . . . why a Social Democrat should . . . vote for either Liberal or Tory." Expediency again! It is not a matter of principle at all, but of seats at any price.

But let us go back a little—where is the need for Socialists to take part in the "faction fights" of their masters, even for "tactical purposes"?

Mr. Quelch goes on: "Accepting the first principle that I have submitted as essential to a clear understanding of our position in politics—that there is nothing fundamentally to choose between Liberal and Tory—the policy of abstention, where there is no Socialist to vote for, is from the point of view of principle, the only possible policy to adopt." Yet he negates this by wanting us to abandon "the only possible policy" in order to vote Liberal or Tory "for purely tactical reasons." However, he shows the mental tangle he has got into by saying "If there really is no fundamental difference for us between the two parties, then obviously we cannot vote for the Liberal as being the lesser of two evils. To do so is to admit that after all there is a difference, and one to the advantage, in our estimation, of the Liberal."

Mr. Quelch sees the danger of this policy, because "it follows, as naturally as night follows day, that the good 'practical' Socialist had much better vote Liberal, even where there is a Socialist candidate, rather than risk letting in the Tory."

Now let us see where Mr. Quelch has landed himself.

(1) He admits that there is no fundamental difference between Mr. Liberal and Mr. Tory. This means that in voting for either we are supporting our natural and historic enemy. (2) But to abstain means self-effacement, politically, and therefore we must support one section of

the enemy against the other, "for purely tactical reasons." Yet to do so is to admit that there is a difference, etc., etc. At the same time "this is a most dangerous policy" because it will cause those "good 'practical' Socialists to vote Liberal rather than risk letting in the Tory."

But we find later on that Quelch is quite willing to enter the capitalist "faction fight"—"to use our organisation in every possible constituency to defeat the Liberal and to destroy the Liberal Party—not because that Party is any worse or any better than the Tory; but because it is the party which stands in our way, which saps our strength," and so on.

Mr. Quelch says that "At the Annual Conference held at Edinburgh in 1898, he proposed a resolution to the effect that the organised vote of the Social-Democratic Party in Great Britain should be directed solidly to the extinction of Liberal candidatures by the vote being cast steadily on the Tory side up to and through the General Election." The resolution goes on to give instructions as to the means of its being carried out; but with characteristic Social-Democratic duplicity it provides for exceptions "where the candidate belongs to the extreme Radical Left, and is prepared to work with us," etc., etc.

Mr. Quelch and the average S.D.P. cannot see that the nearer some other body may appear to be to them, the more dangerous that other body will probably be. But Quelch's eloquence was not sufficient to carry his resolution, for after considerable opposition the following was carried:

"That this Conference in view of the growing tendency of the capitalists and landlords to unite against the interests of the people, instructs the E.C. to use its influence to throw the Socialist vote against the Liberal and Tory candidates indifferently, as may seem to the greatest advantage of the Socialist cause, except—"

They must have the usual exception. Now they admit of no fundamental difference between the sections of the political expressions of capitalism. They further recognise that this admission means that it is dangerous to support either political faction, yet they are prepared to support one against the other, except where that other is a representative of those who are prepared "to act with us for the realisation of immediate practical measures," and so on *ad nauseam*.

Oh! but I forget! This course is adopted for "purely tactical reasons." As if that makes any difference. The tactical advantage—if any—is much more likely to be on the other side than on theirs; for they stand to gain greater tactical advantage by being in constant opposition to all capitalist parties than by supporting at one time and opposing at another.

This can easily be confirmed by reference to the famous Albert Hall speech of butcher Asquith, in which the Irish party, having adopted a policy of hostility to the Liberal party, are promised Home Rule. The Suffragettes, having consistently opposed the Liberals, are promised votes for women; but the Labour Party are promised—nothing.

In the recent election we find Social Democrats fishing for Liberal support (*vide* Northampton). Not getting it, they opposed the Liberals with a second candidate. Elsewhere they had no settled policy. Thus in Battersea we find them supporting the Tory against Burns (just the reverse of what they did in 1900).

Mr. Frank Colebrook, writing in "Justice" for Jan. 22nd, 1910, advocates the claims of the Liberals to S.D.P. support in view of the great constitutional crisis. In the same journal dated Feb. 5th Mr. Stanley Briggs reports a resolution of protest passed by his branch against Colebrook's letter in the previous issue. In the issue for Feb. 26th Mr. Colebrook made some attempt to defend his action in voting Liberal, pleading the "purely tactical reasons" beloved of Quelch. Neither tactics nor any other consideration would allow members of the S.P.G.B. to use their votes in conflict with the Party's constitution, for we are governed not by expediency but by principles.

E. W. Spackman puts forward in "Justice" (12.3.10) a novel proposition. That is to "put up candidates in every constituency where a branch of the S.D.P. exists at every election."

Not having the cash to pay the returning officer's fees, he will not be allowed to go to the poll. Nevertheless, so far as we are concerned, the candidature could be proceeded with. The writer then goes on to press for payment of Members, etc., so ruining a proposition that had the promise of a sound foundation by introducing the eternal, vote-catching reform.

Mr. Quelch is continually denying any compromise or bargain of any shape or form with the Liberal Party, but "M.G." puts the position very neatly in "Justice" for March 29th, when he says: "There are, of course, in the English language, other expressions for this than 'arrangement with one of the orthodox parties,' as used in my letter ('Justice,' March 5th, 1910), but in such an important question preciseness is very desirable." That is very true, and it is the hope of some, at least, of that desired preciseness being attained, that has inspired this long article.

To sum up, Socialists should give their votes to none but Socialist candidates, or if there is no such candidate in their constituency, they should mark their ballot papers by writing "Socialism" across them. This is not self-disfranchisement, as Quelch says, but is a practical demand for a candidate to be put up for that constituency.

To do anything else is to support the exploiting class and so enable them to live by the exploitation of the workers. Socialists should be governed by principle alone. Let Quelch and his fellow reformers and job-hunters flounder in the bogs of "tactics" and expediency if they will—they will surely become engulfed. HUTCH.

### AS GOOD AS HIS MASTERS.

"An officer of the Church Army tells a story of a famous pickpocket who became a convert at a mission meeting, and decided to live straight in the future. He resolved to make a start by contributing to the collection, and being broke, solved the difficulty by picking the pocket of the individual next to him, putting the results in the plate. The logic of the proceeding is a little curious, but in no way affected his desire to live an honest life."

What an example of the current morality and logic of the capitalist regime as a whole—with the difference that it is by no means due solely to simple-mindedness, but mostly from cunning and class interest that the master class so act. Take, for instance, the charitable donations that the master so generously (!) bestows upon hungry and shivering members of the working class. Where does he get them from if not from the workers themselves? In the factories and workshops he grinds us and drives us, keeping us, by the aid of the unemployed (who constitute an evil he dares not if he could remove) down to a wretched subsistence, enfeebling us in body and mind, while he waxes fat on our product. Then, having assured his comfortable economic future, he decides to reform, to be and do good in a way that he feels he ought to according to the station of life to which it has pleased his almighty and merciful God to call him. So with flourish of trumpets and many words, he donates a few thousand pounds to a society for rescuing fallen women maybe, ignoring the fact that he got his millions at the cost of these women becoming what they are. Perhaps it is to the "waifs and strays" he will turn with his cursed charity: the same thing applies. It is the present system of producing for profit on a basis of private ownership of the means of life, with proletarian (propertyless) labour that causes our streets to swarm with waifs and strays. All attempts by various organisations to cope with the evil have not lessened it one atom.

The narrator of the incident describes the logic as a little curious. This is a peculiarity logic has when it becomes mixed up with religion. In fact it is frequently so curious as to be better described as irrational. But its peculiarities sometimes have a good effect, arousing a curiosity that to the persistent enquirer will be of great value, as it will assuredly lead him to a recognition of the fallacy of believing anything that has no rational sanction, and as a logical sequence he will find himself in the course of time in the ranks of the S.P.G.B., striving to realise our motto: "The World for the Workers." CRITCHES.



**S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR MAY.**

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	1st.	8th.	15th.	22nd.	29th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30 H. Cooper	J. Kemble	P. G. Barker	D. Fisher	J. Roe
"	7.30 A. Barker	H. Martin	J. Fitzgerald	A. Reginald	H. Martin
Edmonton, the Green	7.30 T. W. Allen	R. Fox	H. Martin	A. Jacobs	J. Fitzgerald
Finsbury Park	3.30 A. Reginald	F. Dawkins	A. Anderson	J. Fitzgerald	F. Dawkins
Forest Gate, Sebert Rd.	11.30 H. King	A. Jacobs	J. Crump	J. King	R. Kent
Fulham Cross, Dawes-rd.	"	J. Roe	A. Barker	J. Halls	H. Joy
Kennington Triangle	11.30 H. Newman	A. Reginald	H. Joy	F. Dawkins	H. Martin
"-rd., Sandcroft-st.	8.0 P. G. Barker	J. Halls	H. Joy	P. G. Barker	A. Barker
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30 J. Fitzgerald	H. King	F. Dawkins	H. Martin	F. Dawkins
"	7.30 A. Jacobs	F. Dawkins	D. Fisher	J. Crump	A. Jacobs
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30 J. Kemble	J. E. Roe	F. Leigh	T. W. Allen	J. Halls
Parliament Hill	"	J. Halls	T. W. Allen	J. Fitzgerald	E. Leigh
Peckham Rye	3.15 H. Joy	H. Newman	J. Roe	H. Cooper	A. Reginald
Stoke Newington, Ridley Rd., Dalston	11.30 T. W. Allen	D. Fisher	F. W. Stearn	R. Kent	H. King
Tooting Broadway	"	H. Joy	J. Kemble	A. Barker	H. Newman
"	7.30 D. Fisher	P. G. Barker	R. Fox	J. Halls	H. Cooper
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	11.30 D. Fisher	H. Joy	R. Kent	H. Newman	A. Anderson
"	7.30 H. Martin	T. W. Allen	A. Anderson	J. Fitzgerald	H. Joy
Walthamstow, Hoe-st. Stn.	8.0 J. Fitzgerald	D. Fisher	A. Jacobs	F. Dawkins	T. W. Allen
Wandsworth, Buckhold Road	8.0 H. Newman	J. E. Roe	A. Reginald	D. Fisher	J. Kemble
Watford Market Place	8.0 F. Leigh	J. Fitzgerald	H. Newman	T. W. Allen	A. Anderson
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30 A. W. Pearson	R. H. Kent	H. Cooper	J. Kemble	J. Crump
"	7.30 F. W. Stearn	J. Crump	A. Pearson	R. Fox	F. W. Stearn
Woolwich, Beresford-sq.	11.30 F. Dawkins	A. Anderson	T. W. Allen	H. Joy	J. Fitzgerald

**MONDAYS.**—Queen's-square, Upton Pk., 8. Islington, Highbury, Cnr. 8.30.  
**TUESDAYS.**—Battersea, Prince's Head, 8 p.m.  
**WEDNESDAYS.**—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Waltham Green, Church, 8. Plaistow, Greengate, 8. Peckham Triangle 8.30.  
**THURSDAYS.**—Battersea, Prince's Head, 8.0. Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30.  
**FRIDAYS.**—Paddington, Prince of Wales, 8.30. Tooting Broadway, 8.30.  
**SATURDAYS.**—Earlsfield, Magdalene Road, 7 p.m. Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m. East Ham, Ruskin Avenue, 8. Streatham, Fountain, 8 p.m.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

## RECEIVED—

"Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)  
 "Weekly People" (New York)  
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 "Gaelic American" (New York)  
 "Western Wage-Earner" (Vancouver, B.C.)  
 "Civil Service Socialist" (London).  
 "Humanitarian Era"  
 "Free Hindustan"

## BOOKS RECEIVED—

"Napoleon," W. H. LISTER. London: Elliott Stock.  
 "The Socialist Movement in England," BROUGHTON VILLIERS. London: Fisher Unwin. 2/6.

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## MANIFESTO

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THE  
SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

## OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth and in the interest of the whole community.

## Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT  
BRITAIN

## HOLDS

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

That the Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

## APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

To the Secretary,

.....Branch, S.P.G.B.

I hereby declare my adhesion to the above principles, and request enrolment as a member of The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

Signature.....

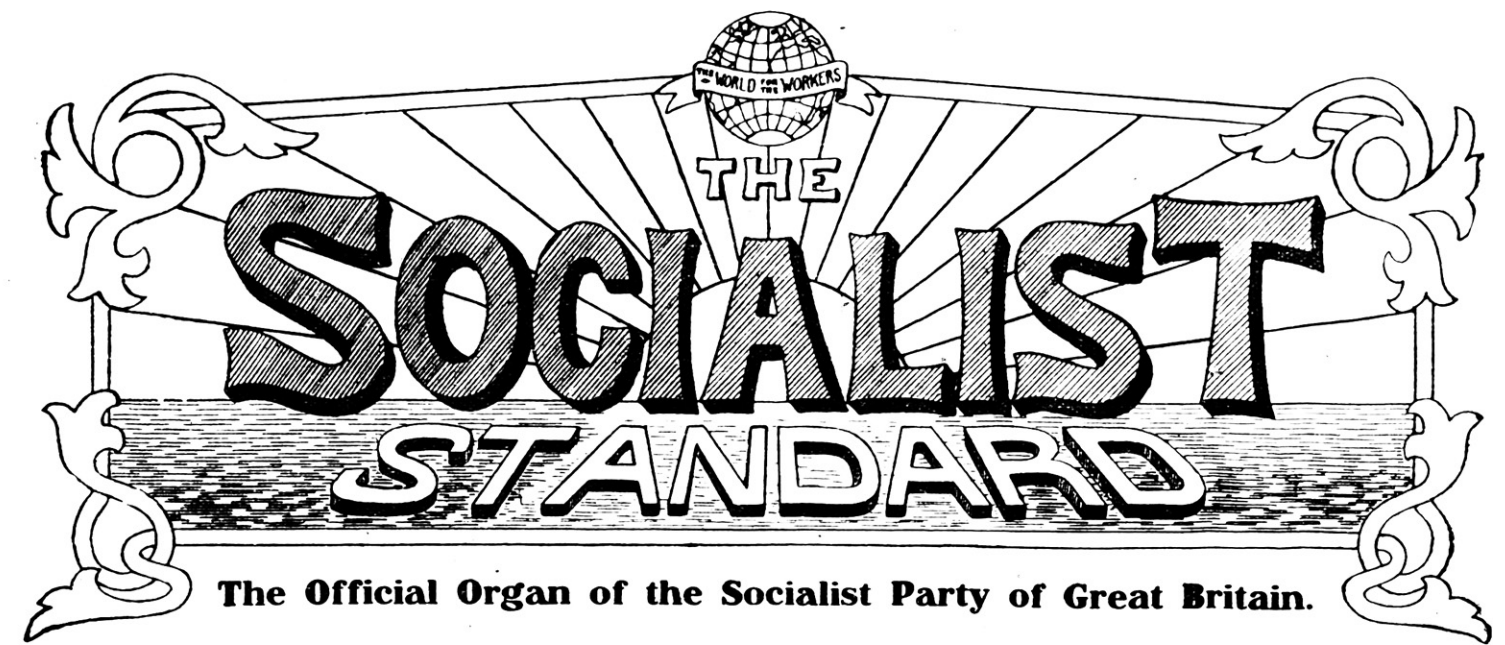
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SPECIAL NOTE.—This form cannot be accepted if detached from Declaration printed above. The complete column must be handed to branch Sec.



The Official Organ of the Socialist Party of Great Britain.

No. 70. VOL. 6.]

LONDON, JUNE 1910.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

## AN OPEN LETTER TO TERRITORIALS.

*What use will it be to us to conquer the enemy without, if our creditors put us in bonds for debts we have contracted? What advantage shall we have in strengthening the empire of Rome if we cannot preserve our personal liberty?—(Dionysius of Halicarnassus.)*

FELLOW WORKERS.—It is said there is nothing new under the sun. If the saying has become trite, it may still have so much of a substratum of truth as to be adjudged not ill-founded as sayings go. At all events, the question contained in the above lines, 400 years older than our calendar, finds a curious parallel to-day.

Under the "kings" Roman citizens were compelled to serve in the campaigns at their own expense. The condition fell severely upon those of small means, who were forced to borrow money to support their families in their absence. Returning from the field, their property was seized by their creditors, and they their children, sold into slavery to liquidate their debts. On the other hand the spoils of war were unequally distributed, and even such of the conquered lands as law prescribed were to belong to the State were filched by the powerful. What wonder that the poor refused to served, crying: "What use will it be to us to conquer the enemies without, if our creditors put us in bonds for the debts we have contracted?"

To those of you, fellow workingmen, who take up arms and practice the art of war from high ideals of duty, I submit the above point of history, asking that you will consider if similar questions may not be propounded in your case. Those ancient warriors, whose achievements stand out as one of the wonders of history in a way that is utterly without parallel—they asked themselves a trenchant question. No modern warrior can have drunk deeper from the cup of "glory" than that old Roman who complained that he, who was born free, who had shed lustre on Roman arms in twenty-eight battles, where he had several times gained the prize for valour, being in his old age constrained to borrow money to pay the taxes, and having nothing left to pay his debts with, was reduced, with his children, to slavery, and disgracefully beaten. Yet such men as he, hungry in a plethora of "glory," asked the profane, earthy question, what had it profited them?

Granting the essentially materialist nature of the Roman character, the questions are not unworthy of new application, even by this most æsthetic of people in this least prosaic of times. Wise men will demand that the object of all their activities shall be their own advantage. The lifeboatman may find the satisfaction he derives from following his humanitarian instincts a perfectly sound reason for taking the risk, and one that will stand the most searching scrutiny of "narrow self-interest."

If the idea of glory, of military duty bravely performed, of tests of manhood endured and

triumphantly survived, are in themselves sufficient compensation for the risk and exertion of warfare, then they are to the individual concerned sufficient warrant for his bearing arms. If the fascination of dangerous pursuits, of playing hide-and-seek with death, or even the "sporting" love of butchering other men without getting hung for it—if any or all of these afford equivalence for the discomforts and penalties of their attainment, good, by all means let us take up arms and fight, upon any pretext—or none.

But let us make sure that we understand not only the value of our reaping but the cost also of our sowing. Let us see to it that we are not trying to obtain sustenance by the unsatisfying process of chewing a rainbow, or to fill ourselves with with meat and drink by the infantile delusion of sucking our own thumbs.

The commonly expressed reason for bearing arms is that of duty to one's country. The term

**No Rights** duty, however, in so far as it signifies a moral, and therefore voluntary action, implies rights also. It cannot be compelled—

**No Duties.** even by the deprivation of rights, for an element of trust must exist with a moral obligation, and a duty in the moral sense is a moral obligation. Directly force is relied upon, as a contingency however remote, the element of trust is extinguished and evasion is assumed on the one side and by every logical standard justified on the other.

As to the rights "our" country affords us, is there any jot or tittle of these that any foreigner may not acquire by a short residential qualification and the payment of about £5? £5! Is that the extent of "our stake in the country," the extreme value of the "rights" which must be required at peril of life and limb? Yet what else is there? We hear much of the duty of defending hearth and home, but even while we do so accumulating rent imperils both.

"Home!"—the term has lost its significance. The sense of home felt by the feudal serf in the secure tenure of his hovel, is foreign to us. How many of us dare stir a finger to make the houses we live in more beautiful (or less ugly) or have heart to give a pennyworth of material to im-adwelling which we can never forget we hold on sufferance from week to week? An do we take up arms to defend with our lives that upon which we would not expend a pennyworth of wood or a spoonful of paint?

It may be accredited to those of you who are most serious in the work you have put your hands to, that you really do believe that there is an antagonism of interests between the different races of the earth. You have been told so often, that it is hardly to be wondered at that many give faith to the idea. And that interests must be fought for has the support of all experience and the assent of all practical men.

But if logic upholds those who, believing that their interests are opposed to those of people of other nationality, are found armed to maintain those interests, caution demands that their belief shall be well grounded. Let us inquire if

it is so in this case.

All the material wealth of the workers as a class comes from the sale of their labour power, and first takes the form of wages. Given constant purchasing power, the more the wages amount to the more necessities and comforts the recipients of wages can obtain and the better their economic position is. The interests of the workers, then, appear from this to be to obtain the highest possible rate of wages, together with security of employment, which, under present conditions, may be taken to mean security of livelihood.

Now the common idea is that if Britain could retain possession of the markets of the world wages would rule high and the unemployed "problem" be solved. But this is entirely fallacious, as I shall endeavour to show.

The mainspring of modern production is not utility, but profit. A man is engaged in producing fabric which is sold by weight. He works for wages, and, as far as his motives go, it is merely incidental that he is producing a thing of utility. This is shown if we follow the fabric after it leaves his hands, for then other men, actuated by the same motives, load it with earths and minerals, which in no respect add anything to its utility as a fabric, though undoubtedly increasing its value as an instrument of cheating.

Were utility the object of production the fabric would go forth to its purpose without this—often deleterious and unhealthy—adulteration. The universality of the practice in every sphere of manufacture, shows that in neither the case of the wage earner nor the wage payer is production carried on for utility, while all experience supports the argument that the incentive of capitalist production is profit.

Value is added to raw material by labour. That added value divides into two streams. One stream flows back to the worker in the form of wages; the other flows into the coffers of the master class in the form of profit (including rent and interest. Every dribble of the wealth the workers receive as wages, as also every drop of that which is sucked up by the capitalist class as profit, is exuded from the perspiring skin of the working class. There is no other source of value, therefore the proportion of the one form must decrease as the other increases. In other words, if the volume of value created be constant, an increase in wages can only take place by reducing profit and vice-versa.

Now two things are plain to the meatest intellect. Wages must continue (under the present system) to be paid, for they represent the sustenance of the workers, without which it is physically impossible for them to continue to produce; secondly, profit must continue to be afforded to the possessors of the means of production, or they will not allow those means to be used.

What, under these conditions, would result from a "solution" of the unemployed "problem"?



along the lines of finding work and wages for every worker who is willing to work? The elimination of competition would result in a rise of wages that would reduce profit to the vanishing point, and capitalist production, deprived of its sole incentive, would come to standstill, like a watch with its mainspring broken.

Such a case, of course, is hypothetical. Long before this finale could be reached other factors would intervene. The less firmly established concerns would be the first to feel the effect of the altered conditions, and would at once throw their men out to form the nucleus of another unemployed army. Uneconomic machinery would be the first to fail to yield a profit, and would be discarded, with the result of a general advance in the development of the means of production, and the displacement of still further workers, to swell the ranks of the unemployed.

These things show that an army of out-of-work is a necessity under capitalism, for it is only their depressing effect upon wages that assures to the possessing class that margin of profit for which alone they allow production to proceed; show that the system contains within itself the means of replacing or adjusting that reserve army of labour to its needs, by the automatic contraction of production on the one hand, and the more rapid development of the means of production on the other, whenever the relative scarcity of labour-power advances wages; show, therefore, that the foreigner does not enter essentially into the question of the prosperity or poverty of the natives, since only a continually and rapidly expanding market could secure them comparative prosperity—and the time for that is passed.

Let those who think otherwise ponder the happenings of the last half century or so. In how many countries have we seen the old order which supplied Britain with her uncontested markets give place to the new, which is snatching those markets away from her? Within this period the growing might of capitalism has overthrown in Russia the feudal laws which bound the labourer to the soil, and has set him free for the slavery of the factory. Russia of to-day offers a remarkable parallel to the England of the time when her feudal institutions were breaking down. A land of vagabondage, with a decided gravitation towards the towns. In England enclosure and eviction: in Russia foreclosures and eviction. As the English peasants were driven from the land to the factory by the powerful nobles, so the Russian peasants are being driven from the land by the moneylender. And—a further parallel—as that old Roman soldier was taxed into the grip of usury, so is the Russian peasant constrained to borrow by taxes levied by a capitalist State.

What all this foretells in the way of a giant competitor in the markets of the East is easily imagined. And where, indeed, is the Eastern nation which is not itself on the threshold of capitalist production and the capitalist struggle for markets, for new outlets for those surplus products which represent in part the profits of the master class, and which must be disposed of before the cycle of production can repeat itself? Do you suppose the constitutional changes which have lately taken place in Turkey and Persia are merely affairs of kings? No! behind the veil the Socialist discerns the struggles of hampered capitalism to shake off the fetters of archaic traditions, customs and laws which bear with so heavy a hand upon its interests. Once free of these, and those countries rush headlong into the race to "dump."

What England did in 250 years Japan has accomplished in 50, and what the latter country has achieved in half a century may scarce occupy the newer capitalist countries twenty years to encompass. The tale is taken up by our own colonies and dependencies, who are competing as sharply with the "motherland" in the world market as father and son, mother and daughter, are competing against each other for a mouthful of bread in the industrial scramble at home.

How long is it since a large East London jute works was closed down and some hundreds of girls thrown into the streets to exist as best they might, on the ground that the industry could not compete with foreign competition? And what was the foreign competition? The same employer had opened a jute factory in Calcutta, where labour-power is so much cheaper!

In China, we read, there is under experimental

culture of cotton, "an area larger than that devoted to cotton in some of the cotton growing states of America." Vague as the information is it may give us pause, for it is not probable that so much capital has been risked without a very fair prospect of success. And what is becoming of our cotton industry when China is pouring cotton into Japanese mills, and through the north the broad bosom of the earth, which clasps most lovingly whichever is cheapest at the price?

What, indeed, is becoming of the workers of the world when international capital (for capital is international, as may be seen by the disturbance in the stock and share market attending untoward events in distant parts of the globe) taps the great reservoir of labour-power represented by 500 millions of people who, it is said, can live each one on a handful of rice a day?

Could our rifles and bayonets secure the livelihood of those jute-worker girls against the "foreign competition" of their own master's capital exploiting cheaper labour abroad? Can your practice at targets and your marching and countermarching avail you against a competitor who beats you by cheaper living and cheaper labour? Can all your desperate valour turn back the tide of economic evolution, or find outlet for your surplus products in a world market choked with the surplus produce of the countless millions of all the great nations of the earth?

No, fellow citizens, the time of expanding markets is gone for ever. Every important nation on the globe now is developing its industrial system on the capitalist basis. This means that in every considerable country on the globe the workers are producing a profit, a surplus which their wages will not buy back, and which therefore remains to glut the market, to throttle production, to throw its producers out of employment until it finds an outlet. As machinery improves the ratio of this surplus which each worker can produce beyond that necessary to sustain him increases, while the ever sharpening competition for work prevents him forcing up his power of purchasing and consuming. Every producer, therefore, of whatever race, colour or sex, becomes an instrument for glutting the market and creating an industrial crisis, with all its attendant working-class misery. And the harder he works and the more he produces, the greater the harm he (or she) does.

The riddle has but one solution. The fullest attainment of "Protection" simply means each country its own sole consumer, each race dealing with its own surplus products; the production of each nation throttled because its workers have produced too much. The logical fruition of "Free Trade" can be but a pooling of the trouble and the same result. Nor can arms avail. No might can make a market among nations of unemployed—and all nations are becoming nations of unemployed.

The line of opposing interests is no longer drawn between race and race, but between class and class. This is perceived directly it is realised that the wealth produced by the workers is divided into wages and profits, neither of which can be increased without diminishing the other. It is conceded with the admission that the more the workers produce the greater the mass of surplus products they heap up against themselves, for at once it becomes their interest to do as little as they can for their money, as it is the interest of the master class to make them do as much as they can. Once again the line of cleavage is shown, in a manner perhaps of deeper interest to you who are trained soldiers, in such incidents as the assistance rendered by the German rulers to the French master class against the workmen of Paris at the close of the Franco-German war, and the action of Sir Geo. White, the "hero" of Ladysmith, who afterwards became the "hero" of Gibraltar, when, as Governor, he ordered the men under his command to perform the work of the coalporter strikers, and then compelled the Army bakers to blackleg the civilian bakers who struck to support the coalporters. Finally, the ultimate purpose of all armed forces shows its sinister head in the part played by the Navy at Hull and Grimsby, and the Army at Peferloo, Featherstone and Belfast. "The armed forces of the nation exist . . . to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers."

The solution. Production is for profit, and ceases when profit ceases—it must be for use, then it will continue as long as there are needs.

Wage-workers produce more than they consume and the surplus heaps up against them, throwing them out of work—the wage system must go, then only what is necessary will be produced. The wage system is based on private ownership of the means of production, which drives non-possessors to work for wages—private ownership must give place to ownership by the community, then the whole social system will undergo a change. The labour market will vanish, and with it the relations between "master and man," and the incongruity of people starving because they have produced too much. But there is much to be done before this can come to pass.

The people must be educated—a mental revolution; the political machinery must be captured—a political revolution; the battle must be fought out and society placed on a basis of common ownership—the Social Revolution.

Fellow Workers, that battle must be, is being fought out, and you must take part in it. We earnestly invite you to consider your position, and on which side your interests lie. Socialism stands for the emancipation of the workers of all lands, and those who are not with us are against us. How is it with you? A. E. J.

### WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

What is the object of Socialism? I was asked the other day. I will now endeavour to answer.

An object is a thing aimed at, an ultimate goal or a desired achievement. Socialism is a system of society based upon the common ownership and control of the necessities of life. Now what is the object Socialism expects to realise by establishing such a condition of society?

Let us examine the definition and see if that will help us to an answer.

A system: that is a significant start. It indicates that there is only one system that can be of use. Socialism cannot be several systems, nor can it exist side by side with, or inside, another. It is all-sufficient in itself, and brooks no companion, for such would be a competitor.

System: what a lot that implies! Method, organisation, control, economy, efficiency—these together implying a condition of mental and physical alertness, that all must admit is highly desirable, although at present seldom enjoyed.

Of society: what is society? (This is where we cut the ground from under the feet of the "humanitarian"—that noble, sentimental "altruist"—who accuses us of sectionalism, and boasts that he stands for humanity.) Society stands for associated mankind, therefore it includes all, not merely a class, although it is the mission of the working class to make the effort that will abolish classes.

Based upon: yes, an excellent word is based. It suggests a sure foundation, permanence, stability.

Common ownership: ownership in common. The exact opposite of individual or private ownership. No miserly spirit can find a home under Socialism. The necessities of each are in relation to the necessities of all. No one is neglected; none surfeited. Man will become above the animals in that he is an owner—not a competitor to own, but a safe and sure life owner—of a share in the commonwealth, on one condition only: that he does his social duty—the possibility of which will be guaranteed by the same community that guarantees the reward.

And control: control in common also. What a contrast with society as it exists to-day, with a small section controlling the happiness of the larger, under the delusion that they have a "divine right" (whatever that is) to do so. Common control means no more tyranny, oppression, slavery, or humility of a discreditable nature, but manliness, responsibility, liberty and equality—worth fighting for, isn't it?

The necessities of life: what are they? Food, clothing and shelter, some say. Very good, as far as it goes, but it must not be taken too narrowly. It is difficult to set limitations, for much more than food, clothing and shelter are necessities of life to-day, and other things become necessities as time goes on. An efficient definition is: those things which are necessary for the well-being and progress of the community. To sum up and give a concise answer to the question that heads this article; Socialism will achieve the increased happiness of the whole of society.

Curtis.

## CAPITALIST PROGRESS

### ITS MEANING TO THE WORKERS.

The leaders of the Liberal Party have been very busy for some time past, telling us about the wonderful commercial prosperity of the day. They have pointed to the 44 millions increase in last year's trade, and to the ever growing amount upon which income tax is paid. New companies are being floated by the hundred and business on the Stock Exchange is being carried on almost until midnight.

While it is quite true that the employing class have been getting richer year by year and the productive power of labour has made tremendous strides, it must be remembered that at the same time the condition of the working class amidst this plethora is a terrible one indeed. Recent official reports, etc., provide plenty of evidence of this.

Unemployment in 1909, with all the privation that it means for the workers, shows a higher proportion than the average for the past ten years. The Annual Abstract of Labour Statistics (issued by the Board of Trade on Feb. 22nd, 1910) states that amongst trade unionists, etc., making returns, unemployment averaged 7.7 per cent. in 1909. Changes in the rates of wages affected 1,150,919 workers and resulted in a decrease of £3,599,024 for the year. It is serious enough to have the rate of wages reduced in a time of decreasing employment, but to make matters worse, almost every one of the necessities of life rose in price. We will quote some items from the report: Bread 19.9, Flour 31.4 Bacon 26.2, Eggs 13.5, Beef 7.9, Butter 3.0 per cent. increase in price compared with the index year 1900.

The number of persons who are forced to apply for Poor Law relief is a very large one. The latest figures giving the total number of paupers in a year were published in the Feb. 1909 issue of the Board of Trade Labour Gazette, which stated that, excluding lunatics and casuals, there were 2,076,216 paupers in the United Kingdom.

The increasing poverty is reflected in the falling number of marriages, with the result that the Registrar-General in his report (April 1910) pointed out that economic pressure was responsible for the lowest birth-rate on record, viz., 25.58 per thousand against 26.5 for the previous year.

The death rate rose from 14.9 per thousand in 1905 to 14.55 for 1909. A fact which is a most damning indictment of capitalist society was brought out by the issuing of a white paper in April 1910 which said that 52 persons in London and 73 in the provinces died from starvation during the year. The records of thousands of other deaths from this cause are partly hidden by being given under the names of the diseases to which the privation gives rise. The fierce struggle for existence and the pace of modern life, the anxiety and nervous breakdown, which the fight for bread and butter occasions, is the reason that the Commissioners in Lunacy in their Annual Report show that while 106,611 persons were inmates of lunatic asylums on Jan. 1st 1900, the number on Jan. 1st 1909 was 128,781, an increase of 22.5 per cent.

The desperate economic condition of the mass of the people serves to explain why it is that, according to a Parliamentary blue book (30.3.10), the number of persons tried for indictable offences in 1908 amounted to 68,116, an increase of 6.735 (about 11 per cent) over the previous year. The influence of poverty is made plain by the fact that out of the 68,116 offences, 64,493 were offences against property! An unparalleled proportion!

Centuries of co-operative effort, the labours of myriad workers, have made possible means of enjoyment and well-being sufficient for all. Yet the barbarous nature of modern society drove 3,751 persons to commit suicide last year, 294 more than in 1908. Life is a burden to an increasing number, whereas in a properly organised society it would be carefully treasured.

At the Plymouth conference of the National Union of Teachers (March 31st, 1910) the president of that body, Mr. W. A. Nicholls,

pointed out that "there were 200,000 child wage-earners, apart from half time, during school age, and that was even worse than half time, because it was an unsuspected child labour." The 38,000 half timers in this country added to the figures given, indicate the extent to which the helpless little ones are sacrificed to the greed of capital. Mr. John Burns, in the House of Commons (April 8th, 1910), said that on a summer's day in 1909 there were 212,000 children in Poor Law institutions. Think what this State "maintenance" means! These mites are fed, clothed, and taught under the direct supervision of those entirely opposed to working class welfare. They are drilled into acting completely in accord with the interests of the master class. Taught the murderous doctrine of "patriotism," which has such a malicious influence in after years, they make poor material for receiving the views opposed to those of the capitalist class. The London County Council in their Annual Statement (issued 12.12.09) show that owing to the tremendous extent of destitution unrelieved by private charity, they had to provide 7,702,536 "meals" in 1909 in contrast to 4,546,791 in the previous year.

The awful plight of the worker, when he has been thrown on the scrap-heap by the employers, mentally and physically exhausted, was borne witness to by the figures prepared by the Local Government Board for the purposes of the Old Age Pensions Act. They showed that out of a population of 2,116,267 aged 65 and over, only 778,283 had an income of 10s. or more per week. It becomes, too, more and more difficult for the children of the old folk to help their parents owing to the struggle to even keep themselves on their wages.

Sir Benjamin C. Browne said in his evidence before the Poor Law Commission:

"I believe a great many employers would not take on a man of fifty if they knew . . . Many employers would not take a man if he is the least bit grey-haired."

The majority report of the Commission states:

"In many trades it seems certain that middle aged men are being displaced by younger men where the former cannot keep pace with the speed and alertness now required—men between 25 and 35 are preferred because they are in the prime of their working powers. In many trades, particularly engineering, boilermaking and shipbuilding, men have little chance of finding a fresh situation after 50 or even 45."

We have had more than a century of social reform, yet the fact remains that misery, unemployment, and uncertainty of livelihood find a place in almost every worker's life. This should convince every worker of the need to cease to deal with effects, and prove that the only sound method is to remove the cause from which these manifold troubles flow. After being in power nearly sixty years of the past hundred, the Liberal Party, through one of their ministers, have to make the following confession of failure to reform "the social problem." Said the Lord Chancellor of England in the House of Lords (Nov. 22nd 1909):

"For twenty-five years there has been going on a constant increase in the wealth of the country, but there is a dark side to the picture. The agricultural population has alarmingly decreased, wages have hardly risen. Poor Law figures are specially high and show signs of increasing. The conditions of labour in regard to sweating, especially among women, have been the subject of constant debates in this house. Overcrowding is dangerous to the very life of the nation. Drunkenness is still the greatest of our national evils. There are grounds for thinking that the progress of physical deterioration is being threatened amongst our people. I take no delight in referring to this state of things. I do not pretend that this Government or any Government can rapidly cure these evils; perhaps they cannot cure them altogether at any time."

The working class, by associated effort, produce all the wealth, yet this wealth is individually owned by the members of the capitalist class. They are able to appropriate the result of the workers' applied energies because they own the means of production, which they only permit the proletarians to use upon terms involving the robbery of the producers of the greater part of the produce of their labour. It is be-

cause of this that we have such anomalies as the existence of poverty in the midst of plenty.

The only remedy is then to end the possession by the masters of the instruments of wealth production, and so institute Socialism.

The attainment of Socialism implies the organisation of the working class, economically and politically, with a view to getting hold of political power to transform society.

Are you content to stand idly by, seeing your class done to death in workshop, factory and mine, robbed of all the joys that make life worth living, or will you take a hand in the struggle for the emancipation of the workers of the world? Will you join us? A. Kears.

## A FAREWELL WORD.

We cull the following gem from the fount of light and anti-Socialist sagacity, the *Daily Express* (April 28th):

"ANTI-SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN.

"The Anti-Socialist Union of Great Britain is fighting the Red Flag in deadly earnest.

"A feature of the campaign in London is a series of *drawing room meetings*, at which well known politicians are delivering lectures on Socialism. An important one will be held on May 6th at 7, Eaton Square, S.W., when Lucy, Countess of Egmont, will be 'at home.' The chairman on this occasion will be Sir Gilbert Parker, M.P." (author of that soul-stirring tragedy, 'The Seats of the Mighty'). "Other drawing room meetings which are being arranged are those of

Lord Aldenham	May 5
Mrs. Hornby Lewis	" 10
Mrs. Lucas	" 25
Lady Joicy	" 31

"The Countess of Desart and the Earl of Dunmore will speak at Lord Aldenham's meeting."

The italics are ours. So it seems that the Socialist movement is doomed. No more may we agitate in the baronial halls of the labourer; no longer seduce an unsuspecting working class with our vile and immoral doctrines.

We may agitate at the street corners. We may still propagate "the end of all" in the bye-ways and the slums. The gin-shop and the Park are still open to us. But we are for ever barred from the drawing room and all such places where the working class do congregate.

The A.S.U. of G.B. have at a stroke stopped at its source our most lucrative stream of supply; and now as a result of the strenuous campaign of the A.S. etc., in the drawing rooms of this "our" country, we are undone.

In this, possibly the last, issue of our Party Organ (excuse this moisture, Mr. Printer), we thank all those workers who are in the habit of attending the drawing-rooms of mi-lud Addlehead and mi-lady Lucy, for the support they have given us in the past, and, handing them over to the tender mercies of Sir Gilbert Parker, M.P., reluctantly bid them farewell.

But stay! Here we have a report of one of those epoch-making meetings, and on perusal thereof it would seem that our worst fears were justified. True it does not report what the speakers said (which, of course, matters little) but merely gives a list of the peers and prierettes who attended, and then goes on:

"The guests assembled in the drawing room to listen to speeches on 'Socialism': Ellen, Lady Desart, Lord Dunmore and Cptn. Parsons being the speakers. Lady Aldenham wore mauve crepe and Lady Tweedale favoured shades of purple and a rose coloured hat with a panache of amethyst feathers. Lady Winifred Stenshaw had on a grey tailor-made dress with a blue plume in her hat, and Lady Strathmore was in grey, with chinchilla fur."

How withstand such warfare? What chance have corduroy and fustian joined in mortal combat with "chinchilla" and amethyst "panache"? The legendary dragon himself were fore-defeated against a St. George in such armour; and so, after many councils and much hard thinking, we conclude that discretion were the better part of valour, and that mi-lady Tweedale and appendages may best be left to the tender mercies of the "Express" office boy.

L.



## OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions to the SOCIALIST STANDARD, articles correspondence and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed—The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 10, Sandland Street, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable.

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AMERICA.		
Twelve Months	...	50 cents.
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## The Socialist Standard,



## MURDER

OF 137 MINERS

AND

## DEATH

OF A KING.

By far the greatest calamity that has befallen the nation this year took place early in May, when 137 workmen were buried alive in a coal mine in Cumberland. Compared with this the passing away of Albert Edward Wettin, otherwise known as King of England, etc., is as nothing compared with everything.

On the night of May 6th this individual died, after an easy, useless life of nearly 70 years duration, and despite the endeavours of five prominent physicians, and the ORDER IS GIVEN FOR THE NATION TO GO INTO MOURNING. Then, as if to mock the hollowness and hypocrisy of the pantomime engineered by interested parties, and assisted so successfully by their allies of the Press that people were actually beginning to worship the inanimate form of one that had ever been wasted clay—came the shock of the tragedy in the Wellington Pit.

Throughout the mining districts a warning was published on the morning of May 12th, drawing attention to the existing dangerous atmospheric conditions. During the day these grew worse, particularly in the vicinity of Whitehaven, 'til they were practically similar to the conditions observed at the time of nearly all previous mining disasters. In such circumstances no one should have been allowed down a mine save those necessary to tend what animals might be below. And when it is realised that there was no life-saving apparatus near the mine, that the pit in question was a veritable death-trap, extending four miles under the sea and having but one way of entrance and exit, it becomes increasingly difficult to charge the mine-owners with anything short of murder.

According to Mr. Henry, under-manager of the mine, the fire started in quite a small way, and could probably have been easily extinguished. Valuable time was wasted, and when experts with life-saving appliances arrived from Sheffield and Glasgow, it was found that valuable coal and mining plant was being burnt. The experts could not reach the entombed men, but declare that had they been there earlier the latter could have been saved. And—horror of horrors!—despite the convictions of many and the assertion of one who had escaped, that the men below were alive and had fresh air and water enough for a month, it was decided to no longer try to save the men, but to save the coal.

"Alas! that coal should be so dear  
And flesh and blood so cheap."

The decision to brick up the mine in order to smother the fire (and the men) nearly caused a

riot in the town—but the mine, if not the men, must be saved. So the mine was bricked up and the only possible means of escape for the men cut off, while preparations were also made to flood the pit should those who owned it deem it necessary.

We venture to suggest that had Teddy Roosevelt, the late King Edward, or even the latter's pet dog Caesar, been down in that mine, there would not have been such unseemly haste to make it a tomb. But a few score of workmen—what of them! They don't count: there are plenty more of them at a few shillings a week. And as for the heartbroken widows and orphans—they are accustomed to such things, you know. A few pounds will solace them! Thus we speak the capitalist mind; and the capitalist Press cynically passes over the brutal murder of workmen, the fiendish intentment of living human beings in a flaming pit in order to save coal and plant, with a report that a relief fund is being raised and that work is being resumed in the district.

Thus the little town of Whitehaven provides an object lesson in the class struggle. To those who believe in the "brotherhood of Capital and Labour" the Whitehaven tragedy is inexplicable, but to us class-conscious workers it is as clear as noon-day. That capital may have its profits workingmen must be sacrificed. And so it will be until Socialism ends conflicting class interests by the abolition of classes.

In the meantime we go on with our revolutionary propaganda. Our sympathy, sincere, deep and lasting, goes out to our brothers and sisters in Whitehaven in this sad hour of trial. The Stoical bravery and fortitude shown by our women at Whitehaven under real grief and suffering, under the mental torture of knowing that even yet their loved ones may be lying in that blazing pit beneath the sea, staring jagged Death in the face through long weary hours—such fortitude as this, we say, we commend in other places, where what is lacking in grief is made up for, many times over, with hired mourners and a mighty show of hollow, pompous mockery and pretence, which could not be complete without Caesar—on a string.

And to add to our insults and our injuries, this triumph given to Caesar (if we may speak from Caesar's point of view), is accompanied by the impertinent order that we, the working class of the country, shall exhibit such outward signs of grief as would move these superior mortals to derision were we to display them on account of our own dead. We fling the insult back with scorn and contempt. Between kings and queens and their capitalist henchmen (or should we say masters) and the working class there is a bottomless abyss. Woe to those of our class who forget it: we never can. Across that chasm we repudiate and absolutely reject the invitation or command to participate in the tomfoolery of national mourning for what is in no sense a national calamity. We are not on the same string with Caesar. Across that chasm we fling, in the name of our murdered brothers in that grave under the sea, with undying hatred and contempt, the gage of unceasing battle to the bitter end. That is how we consign a royal relic to its tomb; that is how we keep green the memory of the murdered miners of Whitehaven.

## JOTTINGS.

The secretary of the Middlesex Education Committee, in a report recently issued, regrets that children should show an aversion to manual labour. The gentleman ought to use the fact as a testimonial to the powers of observation which the system adopted by his Committee develops in the children.

You cannot eat your cake and have it too, nor treat manual labour with contumely and encourage respect for it.

It may be taken as a sign of China's capitalist progress that "From now onwards the sale of human beings is forbidden under pain of heavy punishment."

Manchester Guardian (11.3.10).

One of the essentials to capitalist production is the "free labourer," whose freedom consists

of being free to sell his labour-power to live when anyone wants to buy, and free to starve when he can't find a purchaser for his commodity.

\* \* \*

Mr. Keir Hardie is gratified at the result of the ballot on the co-partnership scheme of Sir C. Furness. The men rejected the scheme after a year's trial. We leave Messrs. Hardie and Barnes (who oppose the scheme) to square the matter with Mr. D. J. Shackleton, who upholds co-partnership ventures. All three claim to represent Labour.

Mr. Hardie stated that the only satisfactory form of profit-sharing was that offered by Socialism! Under Mr. Hardie's "Socialism" the workers will control industry so that they may rob themselves in order to give themselves a Xmas box out of their "surplus product"!

Then hurrah! for the Xmas box Socialism of Hardie.

\* \* \*

Mr. Bruce Glasier tells us in the Labour Leader of 25.3.10 that "my hope of Socialism, my belief in the working class as the only political force that will emancipate society, and my trust in the Labour Party are stronger than ever."

All of which was upheld by his casting his vote at the General Election for a Liberal—that is, of course, if he voted in accordance with his statement that "in my own constituency, where no Labour candidate is in the field, I shall record my vote unhesitatingly, and as openly as I can, against the Lords and for the Budget." Labour Leader, 7.1.10.

Learn then, of one who has been a teacher of Socialism (!) for 27 years, that the way to build up a "force that will emancipate society" is by recording your vote for a Liberal. The result of such leading is the political backwardness of the working class that we unhappily behold to-day.

\* \* \*

Speaking in Parliament on the Trade Union Leagues case (13.4.10) Mr. D. J. Shackleton admitted that the Labour Party was not a party when he said: "There is scarcely a single subject of a national character on which they (i.e., the Labour M.P.s) do not give free play to their own convictions."

To cap this statement of fact, he added another, which bears out the Socialist Party's contention that the Labour group in Parliament is but a section of the Liberal Party. His statement was:

"The sudden defence of the minority man was rather late in the day, and was due to the fact that the Labour Party had ceased to be nothing more than a wing of the Liberal Party."

They have verily "ceased to be nothing more than a wing," they have become the main support of the Liberals.

Proof? Yes! Their action on the Army Estimates, by which the Government remain in power—and the Labour M.P.s continue to draw their salaries.

\* \* \*

Not only have "our" possessions in Africa become civilised, they have also become syphilitised, if we may believe the "East London Daily Dispatch of South Africa."

That paper is alarmed at the spread of the disease and suggests an enquiry and stringent measures for its abolition. The natives are very largely employed in the diamond mines under conditions akin to those of "Chinese slavery," and the fear is that the supply of black labour will become scarce unless precautionary measures are taken. Worse still, danger to Europeans threatens from contact with the Negro servants!

J. B.

## CORRESPONDENCE

ERRATUM.

In the reply to Mr. Fletcher last month there was an omission from line 4. After the words in brackets should have appeared "according to their own statement." The reference to Germany was written under a misapprehension, and the words "In the early days of our Party we held" must be replaced by "We do not hold."

## ANOTHER DEBATE.

:O:

ALTHOUGH Mr. Wimborne was the challenger, he declined to open the debate when he met our representative at Manor Park on April 4th, so Comrade Dawkins took the platform and outlined the propaganda carried on by the S.P.G.B., stating that the audience well knew what Socialism was as expounded by his comrades and himself. And he defied Mr. Wimborne to deal with Socialism and not to saddle the S.P.G.B. with the vagaries of Messrs. Quelch, Blatchford, Ramsay MacDonald, or the kidnapped Victor Grayson. Nor was he to set up any Aunt Sally and then proceed to knock the poor old lady down and scalp her, for the satisfaction of exhibiting a reeking trophy to the public gaze.

Mr. Wimborne opened by admitting that the capitalist system was not perfect. He claimed however, that the horrible tyranny which would be set up if the Socialists had their way would be far worse. He quoted from a book he called "Allinson's History of Europe" showing the massacres which were perpetrated in France during the Revolution, and he described the S.P.G.B. as the Jacobins of the Socialist movement, who would ruthlessly slaughter all who disagreed with them. Brotherhood was a dream which could never be realised. Christianity had tried for 2,000 years to bring it about and failed. All the great teachers had failed, then how could a few men calling themselves the Socialist Party of Great Britain hope to do what every great genius had failed to do? Now under present conditions the best man came to the top. There was plenty of scope for talent to display itself. But under Socialism the commune would decree what work every man and woman should do. What would happen if the commune decreed that Comrade Dawkins should sweep the roads? Dawkins would decline and then the awful machinery would be set to work. The President would put down his foot and say: the roads want sweeping—Dawkins is a handy man with a broom and Dawkins shall sweep the roads. Mr. Wimborne then came to his remedy for the existing evils. First we must trust to scientific development. And we must all admit that things are getting better, said he, whereas the audience set up a roar of derisive laughter. You may laugh and jeer, retorted the speaker, but you forget Old Age Pensions and the Workmen's Compensation Act, which bring solace to the old and to the widows of the killed. This statement moved the crowd to redoubled laughter, and even to actual rudeness, whereupon the disheartened protagonist of Liberalism vacated the platform.

Comrade Dawkins dealt with his opponent's points *seriatim* and in Dawkinsque style. He pointed out that Mr. Wimborne need not have gone to the early struggles of capitalists for supremacy to show how they will murder without scruple all who jeopardise their material interests, and instanced Cecil Rhodes and Co., who butchered thousands of the Matabele in the quest for gold and diamonds.

Our comrade then showed the fraud of Old Age Pensions and the Workmen's Compensation Act, and demonstrated that scientific development, instead of helping the working class, was kicking them in the bread basket every time. Each new application of science to industry was militating against the working class and must continue to do so under private or class ownership in any form.

With regard to the harrowing spectacle of Dawkins sweeping the roads, Dawkins pointed out that degrading as Mr. Wimborne and his superior friends thought such a job was, hundreds of thousands of men were eager for that work now, at a few shillings per week recompense, that many men now do far dirtier and more unpleasant jobs and don't care who sees them where no social inferiority is implied. Under Socialism no useful, necessary work would be held degrading. Our whole outlook would be altered and such things as the rewarding of men like Kitchener and Cromer with hundreds of thousands and people like Madame Curie with a mere pittance would be regarded as sheer lunacy.

Briefly it was thus.

W. WATTS.

## THE SALVATION ARMY AND THE WORKING CLASS.

III—Continued.

## (B) THE TRUE STORY OF THE "ELEVATORS."

Mr. F. A. McKenzie (the Army's official trumpeter for 1908-9) in his Booth-inspired work of fiction: "Waste Humanity" writes as follows:

Let us trace what becomes of the man anxious to leave the streets, who appeals to the Salvation Army for aid. He first goes to the Social Headquarters in Whitechapel-road, where he states his case. The Army's officials say to him: Here is a chance for you to rise again. Make the best of it. Do what you are told. Put your heart and back into the work given you. . . . This is not a place of worship—it is a place of work. God bless you!

The man who appears to be genuine, etc., etc., is sent, if there is room, to one of the City Colony Elevators in Spa-road, Bermondsey.

The process of "Elevation" is both curious and instructive. The "out-of-works" are put to sorting waste paper and refuse. This the Army collects for nothing, under the plea that souls are thereby to be saved and wasters (!) "elevated." As no wages are paid, the luckless inmates experience all the refined tortures of an elaborate "truck" system.

Tickets are given them with which to obtain food and shelter. "At Spa Road and Old Street waste paper sorting elevators, the man, whether on the barrows or at the screens, are lucky if, in addition to their keep (valued at 7s.) they get more than a money grant of 6d. or 1s. for a very long week's work. Many of the inmates remain for years, without showing any sign or seeing any prospect of Elevation."

"It is only natural that many men leave from dissatisfaction after trying the system long enough to learn that, instead of raising them, it is designed to keep them in perpetual submergence."

Until recently one of the principal industries connected with these depressors (beg pardon, "Elevators") was the manufacture of firewood. So keen was the Army on getting orders for elevated firewood that many of the ordinary makers were forced to engage fewer hands.

Picture to yourselves these aforesaid hands turned on to the street owing to the operation of this precious scheme, there to make their way to the nearest Shelter, thence to find work at an Elevator, pushing more hands out, and so on *ad infinitum*!

In 1892 the average earnings of an Army wood chopper were 1s. 2½d. per day, paid in tokens thus: Breakfast 3d., Dinner 4d., Tea 3d., Byd 2d., and 2½d. reserved as money grant and to cover cost of Sunday meals.

The average wage (!) paid was therefore 7s. 3d. per week, while the highest possible was 11s. per week—7s. of it being in "truck."

As regards underselling, whilst on the one hand the officials make loose and vague statements to the effect that "no underselling takes place," on the other hand we have the definite declaration of certain firewood makers that they have lost orders and contracts through being undersold by the Army, and were compelled to employ fewer hands owing to the capture of their trade by the Army.

When confronted with these definite pronouncements (full data being supplied) the Army found a safe refuge in discreet silence.

In an interview published in the *Blackburn Times*, Aug. 3rd, 1907, General Booth said:

"We have practically no firewood-making now. It raised so much prejudice and silly opposition that we gave it up."

Doubtless the touching pictures in the *Social Gazette* of March 21st 1908—"Wood-Chopping" and "Preparing Firewood"—were directly the result of "giving it up"!

IV.

## CONCERNING HANBURY STREET.

There is no discipline so brutal as that of the sweaters; there is no slavery so relentless as that from which we seek to deliver the victims.

"In Darkest England," p. 266.

"The Salvation Army and the Public," p. 66.

Although our factories will be permanent institutions they will not be anything more than temporary resting places to those who avail themselves of their advantages.—*Ibid.*, p. 109.

One of the most famous—or rather, infamous—of the Salvation Army's social institutions is the Joinery Elevator in Hanbury Street, Whitechapel. Every man who goes into this den has to sign an agreement. From this agreement—a copy of which we have been fortunate enough to obtain—a few quotations will prove very instructive.

CLAUSE 1. "I declare that, being unable to find work elsewhere, and being homeless, friendless, and destitute, I have been admitted to the City Colony, to work only for my subsistence and shelter, and that everything allowed me beyond this will be so allowed by the kindness of the Governor."

CLAUSE 5. "I understand that no payment of any kind is promised beyond food and lodgings, etc."

CLAUSE 6. "I agree to give my clothes over to the Officer on entrance, and if, in the opinion of the Officer, they are incapable of further use, the Colony to supply me on loan with the necessary clothes, for which I am prepared to give a receipt, with the distinct understanding that should I on leaving the Colony take these clothes with me without written authority for my so doing, I render myself liable to be charged with embezzlement."

CLAUSE 7. "I understand that in the event of my giving the Officer cause for dissatisfaction by bad behaviour, or for any other reason, I am liable to instant dismissal, and also to the forfeiture of any reward promised for industrious work."

From sixty to eighty men are usually employed at these "works."

Except in the case of a very few outside or "paid hands" taken on from time to time, all the men taken in are "out-of-works."

"The joinery works," says Mr. Manson, "are well equipped, the machinery being driven by electricity. Practically every kind of work is undertaken—inside doors and front doors, windows, office partitions, flights of stairs, benches for halls, kitchen tables, and train indicators. To do such work at all competently a man must be a very good joiner. No inexperienced man could do it."

The hours worked at this "Labour Hospital" are from 6.30 a.m. to 6 p.m. (except on Saturdays). Three-quarters of an hour is allowed for breakfast, and one hour for dinner, both of which are supplied at Quaker Street (a sort of soup kitchen run by the Army) half a mile away.

The working week is 53½ hours, with frequent overtime. And an 11½ hours' working day is not uncommon.

The work done is rated by time or by piece. 2s. a day or 12s. a week is the wage or allowance given for time or day work.

9s. a week is deducted as the cost of board and lodging, thus leaving an average of 3s. a week by way of money grant.

Much light from various sources was from time to time thrown upon these "elevating" methods. Forthwith the Salvation Army officials made strenuous efforts to excuse their damnable practices by depreciating and vilifying the quality of the men's work. "Piece-work" was flatly denied.

Apropos of this last some comparisons of official statements will prove amusing as well as most instructive:

COMMISSIONER STURGEON. COLONEL JACOBS.  
(Memorandum July 22nd, 1908.) (Commissioner Sturgeon's assistant.)

"Hanbury St. is not a piecework shop."

"When a man becomes experienced we put him on piecework."

(Agreement signed by men.)

"In the case of task work," etc.

(An Army official to a representative of the Times.)

"It is all piecework."



(War Cry, May 1st, 1909.) *Salvation Army Year Book, 1908, Page 43.*  
 "We said that the majority of those provided with employment and are able to do any had lost their skill, and could only do the commonest class of work." (Carpentry, joinery, and painting.)

A knowledge of what the Army professes to pay its hands for piecework is of great importance, because we can then discover, with a fair degree of accuracy, how these prices compare with those paid outside for exactly the same work. The work-tabs which have—unfortunately from the Army's point of view—come to light, show this clearly.

These tabs supplied to the men for each job give the price to be paid to the man for making, and bear the signature of the officer in charge.

"Comparisons are odorous," as the old lady said in the play, but the following list (by no means a complete one), showing the prices paid by the Army for certain work, and the prices estimated by a master-builder as those which he would have to pay for the same work, is positively damning.

No amount of plausibility can possibly explain away these stubborn facts.

	Salvation Army Price.	Builder's Price.
1.—Make 3 large square bay windows, 6 ft. 6 in. high, 9 ft. 2½ in. wide on front; one mullion; side lights 1 ft. 7 in., 1½" sashes, the lot	£12s. 6d.	£214s.
2.—Make 5 bath-room mullion frames and sashes, 6 ft. high; each sash 2 ft. 3 ins. wide; twelve lights in top sash. The lot	12s. 6d.	£117s. 6d.
3.—Make 2 glass partitions 5 ft. by 5 ft. 9 in.; two mullions; one cross bar in each sash. The lot	6s. 0d.	13s. 6d.
4.—Make 4 casement frames, two 5 ft. 5 in. high by 9 ft. 6 in. wide, two 5 ft. high by 6 ft. 6 in. wide; transom bar in each frame; ten lights in sash, four lights in transom. The lot	£15s. 0d.	£310s. 0d.
5.—Make one oriel solid frame and sash, height 5 ft., width 3 ft. over all, depth 1 ft. 6 in.; two upright bars in top sashes, one upright bar in bottom sashes	7s. 0d.	£15s. 0d.

(To be continued.)

#### THE NEW PAMPHLET.

### The CAPITALIST CLASS,

By KARL KAUTSKY,

Is now ready and can be obtained from the Head Office: Price 1½d. post free.

### "THE WORLD FOR THE WORKERS."

COPIES of the above four-part song—S., A., T., B.—complete with pianoforte accompaniment and Tonic-Solfa setting may be obtained, price 3d., or post free 3½d., through the branches or from the Head Office.

### BURNLEY BRANCH, S. P. G. B.

### PROPAGANDA MEETINGS.

HELD IN THE MARKET PLACE EVERY SUNDAY EVENING AT 7.30.

QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION INVITED.

### CLASS V. CLASS.

The most astounding feature of the political ignorance of the workers is undoubtedly the fact that, while admitting the capitalist to be an enemy on the economic field, they will shout themselves hoarse for him on the political field.

The organisation of the workers into trade unions shows that a large section recognise that the exploiter is to be fought, even though it is true that the average trade unionist joins the union to obtain sick and unemployed benefits, etc. Enquiry shows that of the vast sum spent by the unions, the greater part is expended, not in fighting the masters, but on the above mentioned benefits.

However, trade unions, in so far as some struggle is made to prevent the depreciation of wages and the standard of living, are what our friend the reformer would call "a step in the right direction."

That the trade unionist does not interest himself in the political struggle is obvious. Mr. G. Barnes, writing in the "Daily News" recently, was compelled to admit that the vast majority of the A.S.E. did not vote at all on the question of joining the Labour Group, and that consequently the money of that union is being paid into the Labour Party funds on a majority vote of a very small section of the union.

The reason for this seeming apathy is not difficult to find. The false idea of the men, supported by the action of their leaders, that an increase of trade, while benefiting employers, means better conditions for employees, coupled with the trade or sectional organisation, retards the recognition of their class interest as opposed to the interest of the masters as a class.

The capitalists are aware of this antagonism, and are not likely to arouse the suspicion of the workers. They do not forget on which side their interests lie, and they are prepared to use all the forces at their disposal to gull and browbeat the workers. Therefore they support the "identity of interest" fraud, and bribe with jobs trade union leaders to propagate the same.

Every reform introduced by the capitalists is boosted by them and their decoys as a benefit to the workers, and all new methods introduced to facilitate or cheapen the working of the capitalist system, is hailed as a boon and a blessing by these "Labour Statesmen." Old Age Pensions, Trade Disputes Acts, Compensation Acts, even Liberal finance bills and "Socialistic" Budgets—all necessary to the continuation of the wages system—are claimed as being beneficial to the workers. The latest (with the exception of the "Veto," which is, we are told, of first importance)—the Labour Exchange—is claimed as a Labour measure, forced by the fact that Labour is represented in the House of Commons.

Mr. A. Chamberlain, chairman of Kynoch, Ltd., states that his firm has decided to employ all their men through the Exchange, and gives the following interesting reasons to a representative of the "Daily Chronicle" (5.5.10):

"Then I think it (the Labour Exchange) is good for the employers because their requirements will get to be known at the Labour Exchange and the Labour Exchange will do a certain amount of sifting for us."

It does not follow that we shall engage every person that they send to us, but at least they will only send those that are suitable. Working through the Exchange gives us practically the whole of England to supply our wants, because the Exchange under such circumstances will, if they are locally unable to supply our wants, make them known everywhere.

Just so. The Labour Exchange will tabulate the qualities of the labour power on the market and will enable the buyer to pick the best of the supply, that is, those workers who can produce the greatest amount of surplus value.

Wherein will it benefit the workers? Labour "spokesmen" themselves are forced to admit that the establishment of the Exchanges will not find extra employment. Instead, it will simply enable the exploiting class to exploit under more favourable conditions, and consequently to wring more wealth from the exploited, which of course means more unemployed and lower wages.

But the Labour M.P. must, to keep his job, remain in the good graces of his masters, the Liberal Party (who help him to get votes) and yet retain the goodwill of the trade unionists, who supply the cash. Hence he must hide the class

struggle, must beguile the workers with the "identity of interest" bosh.

The labour leader at present is in a bit of a fix. He has to pretend to be serving the interests of two opposing classes, the robber and the robbed. Further, to increase his difficulties, the robbed section is divided into two distinct parts. So he must appear to have at heart the interests of the pseudo Socialist and the anti Socialist sections of the working class. That the trade unionist is not bursting for labour representation is clearly shown by the political apathy of the unionist in general, but the unions supply the funds and lend colour to the claim of the leaders that they are labour representatives. So the trade unionists must be gulled. The quasi Socialist section supply the energy and enthusiasm at elections, hence they also must be hoodwinked. The Liberals (the rank and file, at any rate) are beginning to kick. Their votes are being claimed as Socialist votes by the Labour M.P.s, who, to continue the gulling process, shout revolution to the dissatisfied I.L.P.s. Between the Liberals the trade unions and the I.L.P. the Labour M.P. seems likely to come a cropper.

The following from the "Daily News" (May 5th) puts the position fairly clearly:

"The political position in a number of constituencies in South Wales is considered grave, especially in the Merthyr Boroughs. One of the leaders of the Liberal Party in the borough declared that the Labour Party and not the Liberals were responsible for the trouble."

"In Merthyr," he said, "we decided, after a consultation with the Liberal Whip, at the last election to run only one Liberal candidate, and our members conscientiously voted for the official Liberal candidate and Mr. Keir Hardie, leaving the unofficial Liberal candidate out in the cold. Yet the first thing Mr. Keir Hardie did was to claim the result as a win for Socialism, which it never was. That is the way to secure peace between Liberals and the Labour Party."

In Mid-Glamorgan, he added, a seat which was always Liberal was claimed for Labour. Another Socialist was put up, and in spite of the efforts to bring all the Labour members in the country to support him, and in spite of the opposition of the Liberal leaders in London, the party won hands down.

"Now," added the speaker, "they are trying to foist a Socialist on East Glamorgan. Is it any wonder, therefore, that the Liberals turn round and determine to fight them? The Liberals can easily capture the second seat in Merthyr, and probably those in Gower and South Glamorgan. Why should they not if the Labour Party decide to claim every seat as it falls vacant? . . . As to the position in Merthyr, Mr. Keir Hardie, by his taunts, is making it very hard for Liberals to try and advocate the status quo. Many of the leaders are anxious to maintain the existing position, but if the I.L.P. and the Socialists in the borough are determined to force the fight all round, they will find out that the seat of Mr. Keir Hardie is by no means safe."

Unfortunately the fall of the Labour leader will not accomplish much. The working class themselves have to grip the essentials of the class struggle, and also to realise that it is upon themselves that they must rely, and not on leaders.

The Labour leaders themselves are beginning to realise the insecurity of their position and are resorting to all sorts of shifts and dodges to gain support from all shades of opinion. A dozen of the Labour M.P.s, we are told, have joined the "Fellowship of Followers" and have signed the following declaration:

"Jesus said 'If any man would come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me.' Meaning so to follow Him I wish to be enrolled in the Fellowship of Followers."

A "religious appeal to South London workers" has been run by some Labour members, including Hardie, Crooks, Snowden and Henderson, at the Browning Hall, Walworth Road. J. K. Hardie is reported to have said that "Socialists recognise that in nature there is a power unseen but felt, and a something beyond the grave." The old game of spoof and bunkum. "Make sure of the front seat in heaven and leave the rest to us." Crooks plays another tune—called for by the capitalist class, and appeals to the audience with the following jingo-patriotism (we quote the "Morning Leader," 7.5.10):

"Speaking last night at the Browning settlement, Walworth, where a labour week is being held, Mr. W. Crooks suggested that the large audience should rise and sing the National Anthem. The audience at once responded and sang the National Anthem with great earnestness."

Proceeding, Mr. Crooks said "I am one of those men who perhaps know more intimately than the majority of my people something about the king. I feel, and I know from the bottom of my heart, he is the greatest statesman the world possesses at this moment (applause). The peace of the world in his hands is perfectly sure. I have seen, I have witnessed, I have asked others to bear witness to the fact, that in these days of courtiers, when everybody who is anybody says 'Stand back for the King,' he has always been ready to say 'Stand aside and let the people see.' One instance of this that I witnessed; A great gentleman was introduced to the King; he walked up in a way that I am told people are trained to do (laughter). They say it is a gift (laughter). You can't do it (laughter). The next man was a mechanic, but he did not know how to approach the King. The King, immediately he saw his embarrassment, rushed out to shake hands with him (cheers). He always makes the poor man feel as comfortable as possible. He is above Tory above Liberal, above Socialist. He is in fact, the father of us all, who smiles at us and loves to see us fighting in our way. We cannot have the King in any controversy. We like to feel that he is above all and to look up to him."

How sweet! How touching! It reminds one of the statement of R. J., that "the first thing a Socialist Government will do will be to raise the salary of the King."

Another batch of them are junketing in Germany in the interests of Free Trade, looking for

evidence of the German worker eking out a miserable existence on black bread and deceased cab horse, in order to refute the lying statements of the wicked Tariff reformer, who pictures the worker of Germany as revelling in luxury and affluence. Add to this the blatant twaddle of Blatchford and the Hyndmanical naval scare, and you have evidence of the "educational" value of, and the knowledge disseminated by, the "leaders of Labour."

Can one wonder that the workers are confused?

With all this blather we can but conclude that these men are consciously playing the game of the master class. They have taken their stand with the masters and the tiler has to fight them with these that they are supporting—the capitalist class. It is to the interest of the masters that the workers should be confused. Such confusion prevents them from seeing the hellish class struggle that goes on all round, and means to the producers of the world's wealth, misery, poverty, starvation and death. In that struggle thousands of our class are murdered year by year, and we ask you if it is not time that it were put a stop to? This wealthy but useless class are murdering you and yours for their private gain, and you must fight them and those that support them—the "Labour leaders."

Let us, then, sift out the wheat from the chaff and organise in a working-class party, with but one object in view—the end of the capitalist system, which produces this class antagonism. TWEL.

### THE TRUTH ABOUT THE FRENCH ELECTIONS.

The Marxian is not surprised to find, after a study of the French general election at close quarters, that on making abstraction of all that is really "local colour," there is a remarkable similarity between the troubles that afflict the "movement" here and those which impede the Cause in England. So much so, indeed, that one is inclined to doubt that France is so much ahead of England in Socialist matters as many would have us believe. Now that the dust raised by the electoral campaign has settled, it is possible to see things more clearly, and a brief outline of the election from the Socialist standpoint may help readers of the SOCIALIST STANDARD to make useful comparisons with the late general election in England.

The first noticeable feature of the campaign was the confusion that reigned in the matter of the number of candidates and the programs for which they professed to stand. The second ballot encourages a plethora of candidates, and most of them appeared to have the same weird combination of the word Socialist among their confessions of faith. But all is not gold that glitters. The commonness of the name is cynically balanced by the rareness of the thing. Indeed, when reactionary cabinet ministers such as Briand, Millerand, and Viviani, lay claim to the name, it is hardly necessary to indicate further the extreme looseness with which the word Socialist is used here.

After some search I discovered among the maze of "Republican Socialists," "Radical Socialists," and what not, some who bore the name of "Unified Socialists," or candidates of the Unified Socialist Party. But as I had already learnt that this party includes such diverse tendencies as those of the anti-Parliamentary Hervé, and the Radical Breton, the confusion was scarcely dissipated. Moreover the "Unified Socialists" were sometimes opposed by a revolutionary Socialist candidate, and sometimes supported by Radical and Republican committees. Clearly, then, the fact of being a candidate of the Unified Party was no guarantee of Socialist soundness.

I turned to the manifestos and addresses, and found that the Manifesto of the Unified Party, though it opened excellently with an intelligible statement of the Socialist position, ended wretchedly by tailing off into a supreme instance on the immediate importance of trumpery reforms such as Proportional Representation. This was also the keynote of many of the election addresses of the "Unified" candidates.

Marcel Sembat, for instance, who was elected outright at the first ballot for the quarter of Montmartre in which I am living, made a great

point of Electoral Reform, and his posters on the walls during the election showed him to be most anxious to show how faithful a supporter of the Republic he had been, and how unjust was the insinuation that he was revolutionary or extremist. It is also worth noting that after the first ballot, Sembat and Willm, both staunch "Unified" representatives, wrote a joint letter in support of the candidature of the Patriotic Radical budget-faker, Doumer (who was nevertheless defeated). This infraction of the principle of the class struggle appears to have occasioned little surprise. Moreover, I could fill a page of the S.S. with instances to hand where "Unified" candidates have thrown all Socialist principle to the winds in their desire to get elected.

The closing of the first ballot opened the grand period of deals and arrangements. In the political journals such as *L'Humanité*, details were given day by day of "Socialist" candidates retiring in favour of Radicals and vice versa, side by side with more welcome declarations from other districts of the maintenance of propagandist Socialist candidatures against all comers. The fortnight between the two ballots is a time of desperate and undignified bargaining practically all round; and many who fought straight at the first, fought crooked at the second.

Some so-called Socialist organisations in England have the second ballot on their programs. Here, where the second ballot exists, nearly everyone curses it, with the confusion of candidatures and the unprincipled barter of the votes received at the first ballot that it encourages. When members of the French Socialist Party refer to the sacrifice of principle and the compromising deals now so common, they usually blame the individual candidature by arrondissement and the second ballot, and declare that the only remedy is regional proportional representation and vote by party list. Hence practically all the candidates of the Unified Party, instead of standing by Socialism as their sole and sufficient program, gave great prominence to this electoral reform; urging (in common with the Radicals) that it would abolish the confusion, corruption, and irresponsibility of the present system, and encourage the growth of great responsible parties free from the entangling alliances and personal squabbles now so general.

The result of the second ballot was a score for proportional representation and the Unified Party, who gained 23 seats, while the reactionaries gained some and the Radicals lost fairly heavily. The "Independent Socialists" suffered so many losses that it is said that practically all that remains of the group is in the Cabinet.

The Radicals are so reduced in numbers as to make it almost impossible for them to govern alone. It is significant that they are reckoning on the support of a large section of the "Unified" group, while at the same time they are covering the straighter section with vituperation. Evidently the Radicals are not the dupes of the factitious unity of the "Unified" Party.

The number of deputies elected under the auspices of the French Socialist Party was 76; but one may well ask, is it a Socialist victory?

At all events the electorate is disgusted with the present vote by arrondissement and the corruption and confusion associated with it, and the "Unified" candidates, championing Proportional Representation, profited accordingly. The measure passed by the last Chamber raising the remuneration of the deputies to 15,000 francs a year also brought votes to the Unified Party. It is interesting to note that this "reform" was passed into law within a few days, whereas the miserable contributive scheme of old age pensions which gives threepence a day to those contributors who unfortunately live to the age of 65, dragged from session to session, and was only passed into law on the eve of the election. The old age pension swindle, and the eagerness of the deputies to raise their own salaries, roused much indignation. The mover of the resolution for increased pay to deputies was defeated, as were others intimately connected with the measure. The "Unified" members at least criticised the pensions, and for the most part opposed the increased salaries, consequently this brought grist to the Unified mill, while the callous brutality of the radical chiefs shooting down workers added still more. Doubtless this does not account for all the increase in the "Unified" vote. An indeterminate portion is probably due to the trend toward the "left" that is intermittently observed among workers the world over. However, the "Unified" vote presents a feature that should not be overlooked. In Paris and the department of the Seine, where Socialism is sometimes said to be strongest in France, the Unified Party suffered a check. Several seats were lost and the vote decreased. This the Unified candidates themselves attributed to discontent within the party. In some places "Unified" candidates were opposed by revolutionary Socialists on account of their compromising tactics, and determined efforts were made in many quarters to secure the defeat of, not only traitors without the party, such as the "Independent Socialists, but also traitors within, such as Brousse, whose defeat no Socialist will regret. The fact that in these circumstances several majorities were reduced and several seats lost gives some support to the cynical paradox that the real Socialist victories were the "Socialist" defeats!

The Anarchists made some attempt at organised agitation by means of posters, but appear to have had little influence on the result, though some of their criticisms were quite justified.

The General Confederation of Labour was quiescent during the elections, though it was to have had its fling on May Day. The committee of the *Unions des Syndicats de la Seine* proclaimed an unauthorised demonstration on May 1st in the Bois de Boulogne. Immediately the Radical Government, with the renegade Briand at its head, gave strict orders to the soldiery and police to crush any attempt at demonstration, even issuing warnings to the public to keep away from the Bois in order that there may be no "innocent victims."

The "Confederation" (which is really only an irresponsible committee of the French federation of trade unions—too often bossed by men obsessed with the illusion of the efficacy of the active minority) had on May Day another example of the futility of the idea that it only requires a minority to be intelligent and active in order to entrain the mass. The Federation found, as it has often found of late, that the active minority was not followed. Moreover it became terrorised at the murderous preparations that were being made. It sent a deputation to the Ministry at the eleventh hour asking permission to demonstrate. Briand flatly refused. The committee of the Confederation then countermanded the demonstration, and a special number of *L'Humanité* was published at eleven on Sunday morning appealing to the public not to go to the Bois to give the Government the opportunity of bloodshed that it sought, but to promenade on the Boulevards. The result was



## S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR JUNE.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	5th.	12th.	19th.	26th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30 J. Roe	J. Kemble	A. Barker	D. Fisher
" "	7.30 P. G. Barker	H. Martin	J. Fitzgerald	A. Reginald
Edmonton, the Green	7.30 T. W. Allen	A. Anderson	A. Pearson	A. Jacobs
Finsbury Park	8.30 A. Anderson	J. Fitzgerald	F. Dawkins	A. Anderson
Forest Gate, Sebert Rd.	11.30 H. King	F. W. Stearn	D. Fisher	H. King
Fulham Cross, Dawes-rd.	" "	A. Reginald	H. Martin	J. Roe
Kennington Triangle	11.30 H. Joy	T. W. Allen	H. Martin	F. Dawkins
" -rd, Sanderfoot-st.	8.0 H. Martin	H. Newman	J. Roe	P. G. Barker
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30 A. Jacobs	F. Dawkins	R. Kent	J. Fitzgerald
" "	7.30 F. Dawkins	D. Fisher	F. Dawkins	H. King
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30 R. Kent	J. Halls	R. Fox	T. W. Allen
Parliament Hill	" "	H. Newman	T. W. Allen	F. Leigh
Peckham Rye	8.15 H. Newman	J. E. Roe	J. Halls	H. Joy
Stoke Newington, Edley Rd., Balise.	11.30 D. Fisher	J. Fitzgerald	F. Dawkins	F. Stearn
Tooting Broadway	" "	P. G. Barker	H. Newman	A. Barker
" "	7.30 A. Barker	A. Reginald	R. Fox	J. Halls
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	11.30 T. W. Allen	H. Joy	W. Pearson	H. Newman
" "	7.30 A. Anderson	F. Dawkins	A. Reginald	H. Martin
Walthamstow, Hoe-st. Stn.	8.0 H. Joy	A. W. Pearson	T. W. Allen	A. Anderson
Wandsworth, Buckhold Road	8.0 H. Newman	H. Joy	P. G. Barker	D. Fisher
Watford Market Place	8.0 D. Fisher	F. Leigh	H. Newman	T. W. Allen
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30 F. W. Stearn	D. Fisher	H. King	A. Pearson
" "	7.30 R. Fox	A. Jacobs	F. W. Stearn	R. Fox
Woolwich, Beresford-sq.	11.30 F. Dawkins	A. Anderson	J. Fitzgerald	H. Joy

**MONDAYS.**—Queen's-square, Upton Pk., 8. Islington, Highbury, Cnr, 8.30.  
**TUESDAYS.**—Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m.  
**WEDNESDAYS.**—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Waltham Green, Church, 8. Plaistow, Greengate, 8. Peckham Triangle 8.30.  
**THURSDAYS.**—Battersea, Princes Head, 8.0. Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m.  
**FRIDAYS.**—Paddington, Prince of Wales, 8.30. Tooting Broadway, 8.30. St. Loy's rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30.  
**SATURDAYS.**—Earlsfield, Magdalen Road, 7 p.m. Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m.  
 East Ham, Ruskin Avenue, 8. Streatham, Fountain, 8 p.m.

a calm May Day, honoured by an imposing show of armed force both on the Boulevards and in the Bois de Boulogne. It was sufficient to convert any anti-Parliamentarian. Besides innumerable police 20,000 troops were mobilised, and Paris was almost in a state of siege. Where were the followers of the Confederation? It was not the proletariat, but the Government, that demonstrated this May Day in Paris! Evidently Briand had his eye on the political barometer, for the 1st of May occurred between the two ballots of the election. In order to regain at the second ballot some of the ground lost by his party to the reactionaries at the first, Briand endeavoured to restore the confidence of the bourgeoisie in him by being more reactionary than the "reactionaries." Sad to say, in spite of this there have admittedly been numerous shameful alliances and arrangements between "Unified" candidates and these same sanguinary anti-proletarian Radicals under the excuse of Republican discipline! Need I say more?  
 F. C. W.

### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

#### RECEIVED—

"Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)  
 "Weekly People" (New York)  
 "New York Call" (New York)  
 "Gaelic American" (New York)  
 "Western Wage-Earner" (Vancouver, B.C.)  
 "Civil Service Socialist" (London).  
 "Humanitarian Era"  
 "Free Hindustan"

#### BOOKS RECEIVED—

"Napoleon," W. H. LISTER. London: Elliott Stock.  
 "The Socialist Movement in England," Brougham Villiers. London: Fisher Unwin. 2/6.

The receipt of a copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

### MANIFESTO

OF THE

## SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Fourth Edition with preface.

Explains the Party's position toward the  
 S.D.P., I.L.P., Fabian Society, Trade  
 Unions, S.L.P., etc.

Post free 1/4d. per copy from the S.P.G.B.  
 10, Sandland Street, London, W.C.

Printed by A. Jacob, Globe Press, Forest Lane, Stratford, for the Proprietors, The Socialist Party of Great Britain, and published at 10, Sandland Street, London.

## THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

### OBJECT.

*The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth and in the interest of the whole community.*

## Declaration of Principles

### THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

#### HOLDS

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

That the Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

### APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

To the Secretary,

.....Branch, S.P.G.B.

I hereby declare my adhesion to the above principles, and request enrolment as a member of The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

Signature.....

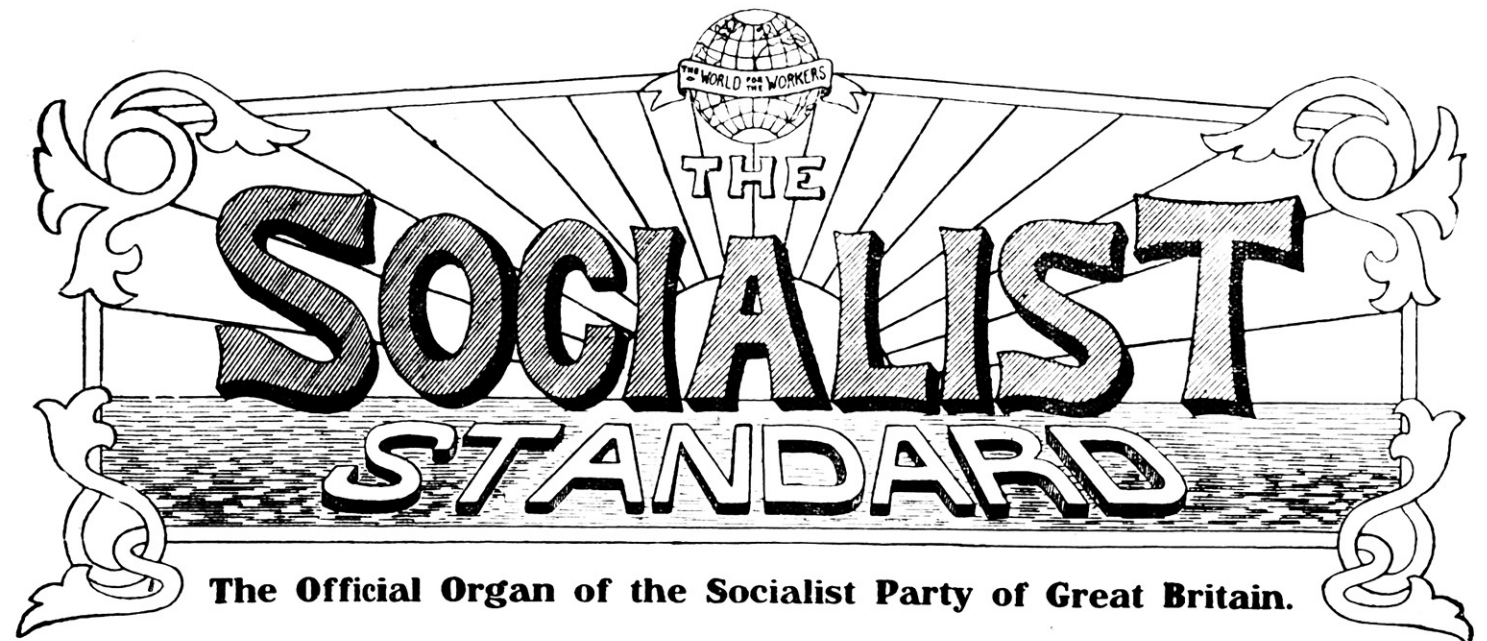
Address.....

.....

.....

Date.....

SPECIAL NOTE.—This form cannot be accepted if detached from Declaration printed above. The complete column must be handed to branch Sec.



# THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

The Official Organ of the Socialist Party of Great Britain.

No. 71. Vol. 6.]

LONDON, JULY 1910.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

## SOCIALISM AND WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE. WHY WE ARE OPPOSED.

At the moment of writing there appears to be something of a lull in the militant suffragist movement; and therefore, before our blood is once more made to creep by the harrowing stories of struggles and martyrdoms—so ably narrated by that institution of sweetness and light, the daily Press—perhaps neither time nor labour will be wasted in briefly studying the agitation for Woman's Suffrage from the stand-point of Socialist philosophy.

It may be taken for granted that the mere attainment of the power to register a vote is not in itself the end aimed at, although there would seem to be a few deluded individuals who have conceived the brilliant idea that the vote, *per se*, is all that is necessary for the ushering in of the millennium, or some other equally vague Utopia. However, a glance through the columns of such periodicals as "The Vote" or "Votes for Women" will show that the ultimate object on which the efforts of the Suffragists are concentrated is, according to the writers in these literary productions, the total emancipation of women from the thralldom (!) of the male sex. The Woman's Suffrage movement is, in effect, a struggle between the sexes, and is therefore more or less anarchical in character. Now while the writer has no objection to propertied women (the Mrs. Pethick Lawrences and the Lady Constance Lyttons) squabbling with their male relatives and friends, or indulging in the intellectual pastime of mobbing Mr. Asquith or knocking off inoffensive policemen's helmets (any more than he objects to the Liberal and Tory parties playfully fighting with one another over the Budget or the Lord's Veto), yet it becomes altogether another story when it is seen that a section of the working class (and a very large and important section) is being beguiled into believing that the necessity of agitating for the vote is of the utmost importance. What is of the utmost importance is that the working-class women, inside and outside the various suffrage societies, whose time, money and sympathy are asked for (and often obtained) by the leaders and organisers of these societies, should be in a position to understand the real facts of the case.

During the French Revolution the proletariat of France were used unsparingly by the French bourgeoisie to help overthrow the remnants of feudalism and then, when that object was attained, were themselves thrown contemptuously aside by their bourgeois compatriots. A very similar thing is happening in the present movement for Woman's Suffrage. The women of the working class are being used for the purpose of obtaining a limited suffrage in the interests of propertied

women, and when that is accomplished there is not one iota of doubt that they will be thrown on one side with the same contumely that was meted out to their French fellow-victims something over a century ago.

Women of the working class are led to believe that the possession of the franchise (even when it is intended that they should possess it) will enable them—by means of Parliamentary representation—to pass such measures of reform as will ameliorate in no small degree their present economic position. We should like to hear what measures of reform these may be.

Let us consider what would happen if a measure were passed through Parliament making all women "economically independent of men" (if that were possible under capitalism). The unmarried women and the married women without "encumbrances" engaged as wage-workers would remain in very much the same position as now. The claim is often put forward by advocates for the "economic emancipation of women," that following upon this alteration in the status of women their rate of wages as workers would inevitably tend to rise. Doubtless there would be this tendency, but it does not at all follow that the standard of living prevalent among women of the working class, or

among the working class as a whole, would be improved thereby. Most women are at present able to accept a wage lower than their actual cost of subsistence, because

they have a legal or sentimental claim on their male relatives—their husbands, or fathers, or brothers, as the case may be. But with the political and economic equality of men and women these claims would cease to operate, and this in itself would necessitate an increase in the wages paid to women, to enable them to exist as workers. With this increase, however, would come a corresponding fall in the wages paid to the male section of society, the extra amount previously paid to men and used by them to eke out the scanty wages of their wives, or daughters, or sisters, being no longer absolutely necessary. Thus the increase obtained by one section of the working class would be balanced by the decrease in the wages of the other section, and the working-class position as a whole would not be altered for the better.

We hear a great deal of what is known as "The State Endowment of Motherhood," which is considered by many Suffragists as an inevitable outcome of the economic independence of married women. Superficially it may be a fine conception, but examination of its meaning and results speedily shows its intolerable impertinence towards the class on which it is to be thrust. The State endowment of motherhood would bring with it the State maintenance of

children. It is hardly conceivable that the father would be allowed to perform more than the masculine functions absolutely necessary for the propagation of the child.

After that his duties would be finished, and the future rearing and training of the child—until he or she was ready for his or her onerous position as a wage-worker or child-bearer—would be in the hands of the State-endowed mother and other servants of the State. Of course, it is possible that the father (if he were an honest, hard-working, God-fearing person) would be allowed the privilege of visiting his children so many times a year, although this might be—and quite logically might be—denied him and his child entirely withheld from him. Presumably the mother would be expected to care for the child during its early years, and would be paid by the State for so doing. It would follow that the wages of the male section of the working class would decrease upon the introduction of official maternity. The cost of reproducing the labour-power necessary for the upkeep of capitalism in the next generation would now be borne by the State, and the working man's wages would not require to be so large as when he had a wife and family to provide for besides himself. The wages of the section of the working class immediately engaged in industry would still remain on the average at or about the amount necessary for reproducing the labour-power required by the capitalist class.

To come back to the State-endowed mothers. Whether the endowment would apply to propertied women does not affect the question. As Socialists and members of the working class we are only concerned with working class conditions. The State officials specially engaged in dealing with this question of the endowment of maternity—it must be remembered that their main object would be, in common with the object of all State officialdom, the conservation of the existing capitalist regime—would not be likely to expend the money entrusted to their keeping without being pretty sure of an adequate return. No one with any intelligence expects the State suddenly to conceive an overwhelming desire for philanthropic enterprise. This being so, it would seem only logical to suppose that the State would take under its care the entire breeding and rearing of the children. The

men and women among the working class best suited for propagating the species would be chosen what would happen to the remainder on reaching maturity they would not, of course, be allowed to mate indiscriminately may be left to the imagination; the various processes of generation would be under the



supervision of the State Department authorised to deal with this function; the child would in early youth be under the care of the State-endowed and State supervised mother, and would in lisplably then be entirely taken charge of by the State through its agents, who would rear and educate it in accordance with the best capitalist traditions to the efficiency necessary for its entry into wagedom.

Many questions might be asked in regard to this. For example, does the endowment of the mother (or rather, the potential mother) commence at the time of the union of the man and woman or are the wages of the mother to be paid by results? Suppose that by some unforeseen circumstance the result of the union is nil, what becomes of the woman? Would the production of sickly child be paid for at the same rate, as the production of a healthy one?

Strange as it may appear to some enthusiastic advocates for the Economic Emancipation (so-called!) of Women and its concomitant, the State Endowment of Motherhood, the ideal put forward above is not one that appeals particularly to us. Possibly our point of view is somewhat different from that of such strenuous Eugenists as Dr. Saleeby and Miss Murby (to mention two of many). But really it is hardly thinkable that the proposed Eugenic method of breeding and rearing the children of the working class, very much in the same way that cattle are bred and reared on stock-farms, is one that will altogether commend itself to the more intelligent working-class man and woman, however beneficial its results might be from a capitalist standpoint.

The agitation for Woman's Suffrage as at present constituted is one that depends for its success upon the increasing antagonism between the sexes. Instead of the political and economic separation of men and women, we, as Socialists, want a closer political and economic union; we want the organisation of men and women, not in opposite camps, but in one world-wide body, out for the overthrow of Capitalism and the establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth, which alone can give economic emancipation to the workers of the world, male and female. The oft-quoted lines by Tennyson (who by some unaccountable means did occasionally say something that was worth saying):

"The woman's cause is man's: they rise or sink Together, dwarf'd or godlike, bond or free:"

apply with irresistible force to the working class. The education of women in the principles of Socialism is equally important with that of men. The influence of women could be of inestimable service to the cause of Socialism. As mothers they have at their disposal many opportunities (many more than the fathers) of counteracting the pernicious doctrines and the formulas of so-called "respectability" and contentment inculcated into the susceptible minds of the children by the priests and the educational authorities.

There is little doubt that many women are now taking a much greater interest in political and economic questions than hitherto, and the number of them so doing is daily increasing. The development of capitalism, in throwing upon the labour market the labour-power of an ever-growing number of women, may bring in its train the political representation of, at least, some women of the working class. In the near future by political action, and now and at all times by Socialist propaganda in their homes, women could and should be of incalculable value in aiding and forwarding the work in which the Socialist Party is engaged. This must be the apology—if apology is needed—for the above article.

F. J. WEBB.

The receipt of a copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

## BURNLEY BRANCH, S. P. G. B.

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS.  
HELD IN THE  
MARKET PLACE EVERY SUNDAY  
EVENING AT 7.30.

QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION INVITED.

## THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND.

BROUGHAM VILLIERS. Second edition. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 2s. 6d. net.

It is significant of the growth of Socialism that capitalist firms, in ordinary course of business, are publishing books claiming to explain what Socialism is and how it developed, by men dubbing themselves Socialists. It is noteworthy as marking a stage in the reception of Socialist ideas. When an idea opposed to ruling-class interests is first advanced it is condemned and opposed on all hands; later, when it has won a foothold, it is derided. When these tactics no longer apply, it is "explained," interpreted by agents of the ruling class in an endeavour to remove as much as possible of the force and value of the theory.

The term Evolution is a case in point. And the volume here discussed evidences the anxiety of our rulers to have the theory so "explained" as to leave them secure in their possession of power. Perhaps the greatest merit of the work is the frank avowal of the author that he considers the Labour Party as the Socialist movement. All previous teachings of Socialism have failed to bring forth any substantial results because they have failed to recognise the peculiar characteristics of the English people. "There is an international aspiration in Socialism; there cannot be an international method," he says on page 18. This is rather hard on his special favourite, the I.L.P., who vary their claim to be specifically "British" Socialists by avowing their likeness to the continental parties both in aim and method. On page 107 our author says:

"Until the Socialists had evolved a method and an instrument suited to the nation, political Socialism could make no headway in England. It was only with the advent of the Independent Labour Party . . . that Socialism gained a hold on the electorate." We are also told that "Socialism is primarily of the heart, and only secondarily of the head." (Page 88.)

It is not surprising after this to find the author defending the opponents of Marx and even attempting, by an important omission, to justify a statement that Marx was incapable of organising the working class. After saying (p. 85) "Whatever may be said of Marx's value theory, there can be no doubt whatever that his book was of immense service to the intellectual prestige of Socialism," and "To Marx the philosophic historian owes much; while even those Socialists who most dissent from some of his theories must admit the intellectual inspiration his work gave the whole movement," he goes on to say (p. 86): "To Lassalle, even more than to Marx, modern Socialists are indebted: Marx set the world of culture thinking and arguing, Lassalle set the people organising."

Now it would be absurd to suppose that anyone having even an elementary knowledge of the growth of the Socialist movement, let alone one who writes a volume upon it, could be ignorant of the organisation of the International Working Men's Association. This was built up by Marx and Engels, and was a splendid manifestation both of their powers of organisation and their understanding of the methods the working class must adopt to work out its emancipation.

Yet nowhere in this book is mention made of this Association's influence or work, nor even of its existence! Curious that the association so well known and, at one time, feared, should not be noted in a volume with the modest title of "Socialist Movement in England." Why this silence? We can only surmise that the author, unable to escape from referring to Marx's writings (that are becoming more widely read year by year), hopes to justify the Liberalism of the Labour Party by ignoring as far as possible the work and teachings of Marx. We are told that Marxianism is "only one imperfect expression" of Socialism; that "William Morris was the greatest personality that has ever been connected with Socialism in England, or perhaps in the modern world" (!) who was utterly opposed to the doctrinaire side of current Socialism.

Just what this means we are not told, but as a little further on it is stated that the Socialist League "was primarily a protest against Marxianism and politics in the Socialist movement,"

the inference is that Morris was opposed to the teaching and attitude of Marx. This is entirely false. In his propaganda work Morris stood upon the Marxian position, as his pamphlet "Art, Labour and Socialism" (published by the Socialist Party of Great Britain) shows; while the Socialist League was formed as a protest against the underhand political trickery indulged in by the Social-Democratic Federation, and had as members Marx's daughter and son-in-law, the well-known Avelings, and as a contributor to their paper the *Commonweal*, Marx's life-long friend and collaborator, Frederick Engels.

Such are the lengths the defenders of Liberalism are driven to. And how much a defender of Liberalism our author is can be further shown by the following quotations.

"Without the repeal of the Corn Laws and the Factory Acts, it is safe to say that no permanent improvement in the condition of the British people would have been possible. It is the supreme glory of Richard Cobden that he saw, and concentrated the attention of England upon, the first and then most vital of all reforms, the effect of which has been to render all subsequent progress possible." (Page 52.)

To thus describe one of the bitterest opponents of the Factory Acts and the trade unions is, to use a popular phrase, laying it on with a trowel. But what is to be said of this:

"The repeal of the Corn Laws produced a sudden and unexpected regularity in the supply of food; it greatly steadied employment." (Italics ours.) And this when crises are not only sharper but occur closer together and last relatively longer. The gem, however, is the statement that "Free Trade brought to the English people, without loss of wages, cheaper food." (Italics ours.) Seeing that Marx in "Capital" has shown, with evidence beyond all dispute, that the wages of the textile operatives were reduced an average of 14 per cent. upon the passing of the Repeal of the Corn Laws, the desperate straits our defender of Liberalism is reduced to become apparent.

But, as is so often the case, the much derided Marxianism has a splendid revenge in the pages of this book.

Several pages are given over to the praises of the "reforms" the Labour Party and I.L.P. are supposed to have brought about, while the municipalising of certain industries is called municipal Socialism instead of the municipal capitalism it really is. But on page 194 the truth leaks out when it is said:

"When the theory of Governmental incompetence was predominant everywhere, untheoretic aldermen and councillors were discovering that they must govern the cholera or it would govern them."

Thus does Mr. Villiers justify the Socialist statement that the capitalists have done these things in their own interests and not out of any regard for the workers, or fear of the Labour Party.

It is on the question of capitalistic development, however, that the most striking turn about occurs.

"So the hand-worker was squeezed out by the first machines of the eighteenth century, so the first capitalist manufacturers were forced to extend their operations or succumb before rivals controlling a more effective and concentrated capital. . . . A ship of a thousand tons was a large one thirty years ago; now such a one will be confined to harbours too shallow to allow for ships of larger draught. New manufactures are starting up every day, and the rapid progress of evolution . . . will inevitably bring the whole industry into the hands of some Rockefeller or Pierpont Morgan of the future. . . . The grocer cannot compete with the syndicated shops, buying wholesale."

Faced with the prospect that however prosperous his business to-day, a larger amalgamation of capital, with better machinery, may make a bankrupt of him in a few years, the capitalist combines, as the Trade Unionist combines, in his own defence. Combination in the form of large limited companies, marks the progress of national and international industry.

"In point of fact the most economical unit of production, in American oil, at all events, is the whole trade; and when that is the case, no

power on earth can prevent the ultimate triumph of monopoly, either public or private." (Pages 198-201.)

What is the above explanation but the very same "doctrinaire" "Marxian formula" he had previously condemned?

Written for the purpose of "explaining" Socialism as the Lib-Lab. attitude of the Labour Party, the author has been driven, when trying to explain important points, to take up the much despised Marxian view, not only on industry, but also in politics, for while on page 210 it is admitted that the I.L.P. supported the Liberal candidate at Bury in the bye-election preceding 1906, yet we were told a few pages previously that capitalistic society would not fight for itself with or without "any theoretic justification." Exactly! and recognising that the "cause" of the Labour Party is to act as decoy ducks for the Liberal Party they have, as we have given overwhelming evidence to prove, been true to that "cause," and have fought against the interests of the working class—that is against Socialism.

Excellent as an eulogy of the Labour Party, the book is misleading as a history of the Socialist Movement both from what is left out and what is wrongly stated. In its praise we may say it is well printed and nicely bound.

J. FITZGERALD.

## THRIFT IN CLOGTOWN.

WHAT is the motive of after-death philanthropy? Is it the look of complacent rectitude resting upon the countenance of our "best" entrepreneurs? This complacency is the outer symbol of an internal peace and an ethical confidence that passeth all understanding; it is the key to posthumous capitalist benevolence. Capitalists on the whole do believe that the possession of capital is a rough but true test of virtue. Even if a capitalist on his demise bequeaths his capital to his family, his fellow members of the plutocracy do not complain; but when he leaves a modicum, a small portion of his possessions, a comparatively meagre sum, to some "public service"—well, complacency, the profit-sharing smile, and a welter of "religious" phraseology, reign supreme. If a capitalist passes on his capital to his relatives he has more than a sporting chance of making heaven his home; but if, when leaving this vale of tears, he throws a sop to a "Children's Home," then, as Ingersoll said, give him a harp. The Thrift Class of the Clogtown Mechanics Institution was a choice example of such vigilant benevolence.

The industrial haven of Clogtown boasted a number of "self-made" capitalists. Jack Smith in particular was the pride of the town; the oldest inhabitant—I mean the oldest outside the workhouse—could remember Jack Smith's father starting business with £20 borrowed from a cousin. He was lucky in his speculations, and in the fullness of time developed into a cotton lord. His son was knighted for gifts to the Liberal Party funds, and obtained the cringing admiration of the multitude. This man, said the fawning ones, must be a divine molecule; and they, the intelligent electors of Clogtown, looked upon Sir John Smith and his ten thousand spindles much as a certain oriental people look upon their monarch, the Son of Heaven and happy proprietor of ten thousand umbrellas.

When Sir John Smith went to the better land, being a complacent capitalist, he left a sum of money to the local Mechanic's Institution, to be the basis of an endowment for a class which was to exist solely to teach the principles of thrift and prudence. It was the way of the youth of Clogtown to attend the evening classes during the winter, to take shorthand, bookkeeping, Commercial Correspondence, and the course on Thrift so liberally endowed by Sir John Smith. The series of classes was recommended by the local Education Committee, for as a one-time president of the National Union of Teachers said: "As the centuries have come and gone there has been a notable shifting of the centre of gravity of education. Time was when it was regarded as exclusively for gentlemen, and not for the masses. To-day it is made to minister largely to commercial and industrial efficiency,

to enable the homeland to compete successfully in the markets of the world." (Mr. A. R. Pickles in the "Burnley Express," 13.4.07.)

The Thrift class had the usual teacher, but it was common for students—many middle-aged attended—to give their own experiences for the benefit of the class, in the same way that men and women exaggerate their past sins when in the Salvation Army, or in the class meetings of the Wesleyans. But in this class not many could boast much wealth as the result of their thrift. Many of the most voluble savers were still in the grip of the mortgagee; for in Clogtown masters were few, and vacant jobs were few, and many were they who sought after them.

Things were becoming rather flat in the class toward the end of a certain session, smiles were worn threadbare, and profit-sharing had been discussed 'til it palled. Then a lucky discovery was made—a new member arrived from a small manufacturing village in the precincts of Clogtown. His experiences were unique, and gave an incentive to the rest. True, his was not a particularly pleasing personality. He was meek, not free and sociable and fraternising, his interest evidently centred around his own puny soul, and did not extend and ramify until they took in all his class; but he was ardently listened to. He told how he had never earned more than thirty shillings per week, and that he was the owner of eight cottage houses, with only a small mortgage to clear. His parents left him but £20, and with that sum he purchased a house, borrowing the remainder at 4½ per cent. With arduous exertion, and strenuous efforts to live cheaply, the first house was won. Then after two or three had been purchased, he bought the rest with the rents of the "first-bought." This illustration of houses bought with rents drawn from others—perhaps not even paid for—struck the "imagination" of the provident, frugal, parsimonious, co-operating Liberals present, and much cheering accompanied the narration of the feat.

Then up jumped Jim Roberts, a sardonic scamp, a deliberate pleasure lover, the butt of the class with his talk of camaraderie and class morality—a Socialist, whose very presence in the class was regarded with mixed feelings, in which suspicion of inveterate cynicism loomed large. He asked leave to put a few questions to the champion Smileseau. No one demurred.

JIM: At what age did you marry?

SMILESEAU: Thirty-five.

JIM: Have you any children?

SMILESEAU: No.

JIM: Had any illness?

SMILESEAU: Haven't paid 10s. to doctors in all my life.

JIM: Ever been out of a job?

SMILESEAU: No.

JIM: Drawn some insurance policies?

SMILESEAU: A few.

JIM: Is your boss a steward at the Sunday School where you are a teacher?

SMILESEAU: Yes.

JIM: Um! Ever had any holidays? Been to Blackpool?

SMILESEAU: No. I've never set my eyes on the sea yet.

JIM: Has your wife worked at the mill?

SMILESEAU: Yes. Ever since we were married.

JIM: Do you smoke? or use butter? or give a party to your friends occasionally? or take a glass of beer? or read newspapers? and have you any hobbies?

SMILESEAU: I am a teetotaler, staunch; I do not smoke; I do not use butter—lemon cheese is a cheap substitute; I sometimes see a newspaper when the missus gets one wrapped around her groceries; if I have a hobby it is papering my houses during the annual "wakes."

JIM: (to the class) Now, fellow workers, the frugality of the oracle is unveiled. Unfortunately some of us here in Clogtown do spend a trifle on newspapers and journals to help brighten our ideas; we also often have some hobby to help to while away our few leisure hours; we have at times a family gathering, and speculate our precarious wages on as good food as possible; our wives do not all work at the mill, or things would look more blue for the men folks; we do try to get a few days at the seaside, which I admit also helps to recuperate our

failing energies for another year's grind, and the bulk of us, alas, are not teachers at a Sunday school. Unfortunately, too, for our parsimonious propensities, we do marry early, we do rear children, we do suffer from various ills, we do have doctors' bills to pay, and we haven't all the "cheek" to speculate in insurance policies. One thing, however, is certain: I get as much happiness through fighting for my class as does our frugal friend in perniciouly trying to get out of his class and on to our backs.

JOHN A. DAWSON.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### IS SOCIALISM ATHEISM?

SIR,—As you have thought it worth your while to notice my pamphlet under the above title it may be worth while my trying to correct one or two false impressions that F.C.W. has received from it. When I say that the whole community, "rich and poor alike," shall own the land and capital, I obviously mean those who are *not* rich and poor. Of course they will not be "rich and poor" when they have become a Socialist State. I was trying to guard against the stupid idea that Socialism is "robbery by the poor." It is the act of the whole community who happen now to be "rich and poor," but eventually will have ceased to be so divided. I may mention in passing that I do not call myself a "Christian Socialist," so his mentality is not necessarily my mentality. Nor do I see why it shows my ignorance of human nature to say that Socialism is against human nature as we know it. I should have thought it showed my knowledge, not my ignorance. Perhaps I ought to have said my own human nature because that happens to be the only one that I know much about. Probably even F.C.W. knows little about any other than his own. I know for instance that I am by nature very selfish and that my Socialism is distinctly against that selfishness. I do not see why F.C.W. need be so cross because I reply in the negative to what he would answer in the affirmative. It is surely best to have both answers given to the question, and if my NO is so contemptible it only strengthens his YES, and should make him glad, not angry.

JAMES ADDERLEY.

Comrades Editors,—I gladly accept Father Adderley's correction that he did not mean there would be both rich and poor under Socialism, but only that the whole community—rich and poor alike—will *institute* that system. The correction, however, does not mend matters; and it need not be supposed that I am cross if I simply proceed to call a spade a spade in reply.

In view of my knowledge of my own human nature and that of Father Adderley (I refer, of course, to our common selfishness) I hold that the idea that the rich and poor alike will co-operate in the inauguration of the Socialist system betrays an ignorance of both Socialism and "human nature." It is the poor, the working class, who will inaugurate Socialism, *in the teeth of the opposition of the wealthy.* The workers will do this because ripening economic conditions are making it clear to them that only Socialism can promote their self-interest. On the other hand the bitter opposition of the wealthy is due to their knowledge that their selfish interests will be sacrificed to the interests of those who now produce their wealth.

From this it is evident that so far as Socialism from being antagonistic to the selfishness of human nature, that it is actually based upon it. The class struggle is the practical expression of this fact. And religion, instead of being a possible help to Socialist propaganda, is a positive hindrance because it obscures the truth and keeps workers duped by the idea of the fraternity of robber and robbed, when they should be fighting the robbers.

Finally, whether Father Adderley calls himself a "Christian-Socialist" or a "Church-Socialist" is of small importance beside the fact, made plain by his pamphlet and his present letter, that his Christianity stands in the way of his acceptance of the basic principles of Socialism.

F. C. WATTS.



## OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions for the Socialist Standard, articles for correspondence and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed, The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 10, Sandland Street, London, W.C., to whom money orders should be made payable. The Socialist Standard is published on the last Saturday in each month. The meetings of the Executive Committee are held at the Head Office every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m.

## TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

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## The Socialist Standard,

FRIDAY, JULY 1, 1910.



## SOLD AGAIN!

When the General Election was being fought we pointed out again and again that the struggle over the Lords' Veto was nothing but a sham fight. On Parliament assembling complete proof of the truth of this contention was given by Mr. Asquith ("treacherously," the *Labour Leader* said) refusing to deal with the House of Lords as the first item of business ("treachery" in which the Labour Party assisted).

Pressure from the Irish Party and a few of the left wing of the Liberal party forced the reluctant Government to bring forward the Veto, concerning which a series of resolutions was passed by the House of Commons.

All this, of course, was very annoying and very awkward for the managers of the Liberal party, who found themselves in a deuce of a quandary, and had no relish for the task they were forced to handle in some way. How to get out of the difficulty was a question that worried them sorely.

In the midst of their perplexity relief came to them suddenly and from an unexpected quarter. The King died. It is indeed an ill wind that blows no good to anybody. With his accustomed thoughtfulness, his quite remarkable faculty for doing the right thing at the right moment, King Edward had provided a splendid pretext for abandoning the sham hostilities against the Lords. In a few hours the capitalist press had so completely engineered the public feeling, that to have remained true to election pledges would have been accounted sacrilege ranking with the sin against the Holy Ghost.

So, when Caesar, having assuaged his grief in sack cloth and ashes, had led his funkney home again, the bitter enemies buried the axe under the turf of NATIONAL MOURNING, reached across the grave of the dead monarch as it were, and shook hands.

## EDWARD THE PEACEMAKER!

So the Veto is dodged and the working class providentially (it is important to observe the finger of God in it all) sold again.

Acting upon (as the Press glibly puts it) "instructions received from very high quarters" (himself in all probability) Mr. Asquith proceeds to arrange a conference with the Opposition (!) leaders for the purpose of deciding how they will clip the wings of the intolerant Lords without in any way reducing their power of flight.

A lovely farce! But who shall say it will not play its part? Of course, as far as we, who have never attached any importance to the question of the Lords' Veto, quite apart from the matter of the sincerity or otherwise of the pronouncements of the other political parties regarding it—as far, we repeat, as we are concerned, there is no cause for complaint; but it is interesting to note how deplorably easy it is to bluff the workers into the belief that such an event as the death of a king is a sufficient reason for throwing overboard the chief plank upon which the election was fought.

And, as far as the capitalist Press can influence the working class, such tactics will prevail. But even now we may almost put a term to the period when the workers allow others to do all their thinking for them. The lying Liberals and canting Conservatives may win this time and the workers be sold again and yet again, but every day has its lesson for the workers. Thus the horror of Whitehaven is a counterblast to the "mourning" mummeries for the official head of British capitalism that all the canting hypocritical letters of "sympathy" from titled persons cannot belittle. So year by year the light grows stronger, and the number who can see things in their true perspective grows greater, and the whirling of time, with his innumerable lessons of experience, sweeps us on, much more rapidly, perhaps, than even the most far-seeing of the master class imagine, toward the period when the working class will conquer the powers of Government for themselves, and enter into possession of the world as they make it, to be "sold" no more.

## OUR SIXTH ANNIVERSARY.

On the 12th of June last the Socialist Party of Great Britain concluded the sixth year of its existence. And our sixth anniversary finds the Party as firmly based on its principles, as unassailable in the position it took up at its inception, as it was in the days when it was so freely predicted that that position would be found untenable after a few months.

As far as this proves anything at all it proves that those principles were and are fundamentally correct; that they are therefore as sound to-day as they were yesterday, and will be as sound to-morrow, and until the conditions to which they appertain themselves have passed away.

Such a position, of course, is unassailable. The fact that it has never been seriously attacked by the leaders of the so-called Socialist parties is in itself clear proof of conscious treachery of those individuals. They know how unshakable is our position, and the policy of ignoring us is the only one they dare venture upon.

As to the success of our efforts, we have no cause for pessimism. To say that we are quite satisfied would, of course, be to say that we are not enthusiasts—for enthusiasts are always a little bit impatient. However, we knew before we started that we had a hard row to hoe, that Socialists—men and women who thoroughly understand the working-class position, are not inspired by a few passionate utterances, or an appeal to their emotions, but are made by steady and persistent education. Bearing this in mind we look back upon our past work with the feeling that it has accomplished all we had looked for. We have more than quadrupled our numerical strength in these six years, but this is no gauge of the extent of our work. To get some idea of that one must consider what effect our labours have had upon the working-class mind at large. This is partly shown by the audiences at our street corner meetings, and debates and other meetings held within doors; it is further shown by the considerable and increasing amount of correspondence from all parts of the Kingdom, which is received at headquarters. Stick to it, boys—the Cause advances!

## ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

W. G. Cox.—In our May issue, page 67, "Fritz" wrote with reference to the Salvation Army that "the crowd of hungry, desperate wretches, without even a penny in their pouch, demanding food and shelter—unless they can furnish the needful coin of the realm, are met with a closed door."

You say this "out of sketching," and adduce by way of proof certain instances within your own knowledge where Salvation Army officials have provided the starving with meals, given them money, etc. "Fritz" distinctly stated in one of his earlier articles, that we were in no sense to be understood as attacking the Army officer, or rank and file, but the fraud of the system itself.

The Army's advertisements in the Press read thus: "6,000 Poor sleep in the Homes nightly." This was characterised as misleading. Don't you agree that it is so? What does it matter whether General Booth spends 2s. or £20 a day on his personal expenses, or the fact (if it is a fact) that he "takes no rest"? Some of us would be glad of a rest (or a ride in a motor car).

## S.D.P. CONSISTENCY.

"From the very beginning the S.D.P. has advocated all those stepping stones to collective and Socialist organisation, which are now being slowly adopted even by the Radicals, . . . the feeding of the children in the schools, to be followed by their clothing as well; an eight hours law; the co-operation of organised labour without throwing the produce on the market; the construction of healthy homes for the people by the public authority." (H. M. Hyndman at S.D.P. Conference—see *Justice* 2.4.10).

The misleading nature of the above is in line with the next paragraph.

"In 1883 we formulated a series of proposals for pressing needs. . . . These proposals included the State organisation of the unemployed in town and country on useful productive work, so as to save them from want and pauperism and to take them out of the capitalist labour market altogether. Now every one of these proposals is a perfectly practical one and they could all be put into operation at once by any government which seriously wished to apply practical remedies to unemployment. All these proposals put together do not amount to Socialism but they would help on Socialism and they would abolish unemployment [italics ours], alleviate poverty and save men, women and children from misery, want and starvation." (H. Quelch, *Northampton Pioneer*, 8.1.10.)

Thus are the working class taught nonsense by men claiming to be Socialists. That it is nonsense is proved by other statements from the same source. The following should receive close attention from the members of the S.D.P.

"Under existing circumstances every improvement in the mental and moral condition of the workers makes it better for the capitalist class. The worker by improving himself is simply increasing the effectiveness of labour, assisting production, and steadily adding to that wealth which eventually overwhelms him and thrusts him out of work. Under existing circumstances that is the inevitable result of his improvement." (H. Quelch in debate with C. H. Roberts, M.P., 29.11.04, page 23, S.D.P. edition.)

Mr. H. M. Hyndman ("Economics of Socialism," 1906, pp. 105-6) says:

"It follows that so long as the capitalist system endures, so long must the appropriation of unpaid labor continue, so long must there be an army of unemployed at hand, to restrain the demands of those who are at work, and ready to be absorbed in periods of prosperity, so long must wages on the average in every trade be no more than the subsistence rate customary in the trade, regulated by competition; and so long must the workmen be in all but name, the slaves of the capitalist and landlord."

"From this we can learn the comparatively small worth of mere palliatives. Sanitary factories, liability of employers for injuries to workmen, restriction of age at which children may work, limitation of dangerous and unhealthy trades, even the eight hour law, each and all of which leave the basis of the system wholly untouched and the difficulties to which it leads practically unmodified."

"The wage-earners may be a trifle healthier, a little less liable to mutilation, not quite so much overworked and allowed a certain amount more leisure in which to reflect upon the causes of their subjection. But that is the total amount of advantage they will gain."

They will be just as uncertain of employment, just as much liable to overwork by increased rapidity of machinery—12 hours work being compressed into 8—and just as little capable of making provision for old age."

"Thus it is for example, that when wage earners owing to any cause obtain some considerable increase in their wages, involving a rise in their standard of life, labour-saving inventions or machines are adopted which render superfluous a certain number of the workers and turn them into necessitous competitors for employment with those who remain at work. Such improvements are always at hand in our progressive society and awaiting acceptance by the dominant class of our day. But the object of that class is not to save expenditure of labor,

not to produce more useful articles with less of toil for the working community. Not at all. Their sole and only object is to increase the quantity of labor value they can appropriate without paying for it, to enhance the total profit, that is to say.

"Consequently if wages are sufficiently low to satisfy the capitalist class engaged in that trade, no employer will think of 'locking up his capital' in improved machinery. He prefers the simpler plan of extorting surplus value out of the underpaid hands at his command." (The italics throughout these quotations from Hyndman are ours.)

A. KAY.

## JOTTINGS.

"Fools learn by experience," it is said. This may be true of some fools, but is certainly not true of them all. Nor is it true that only fools learn by experience. Some very wise men—in intellectual giants, even—learn a little from experience, and it has been remarked that such men are surer of the knowledge that they acquire "first hand" than they are of that which comes to them in other ways.

So it may be only a further mark of his quality that that Solomon of wisdom, Mr. Tom Mann, has done what plenty of other fools and wise men have done before him—learned in the "hard" school of experience the truth of what Socialists have so long declared—that in compulsory arbitration and conciliation, wages boards, and the like there is no advantage to the workers.

Eight and a half years ago Mr. Mann set out for the land of the Southern Cross, to study in all their pristine glory those "bits of Socialism" that have stolen upon the kangaroo "like a thief in the night." Now Tom has returned, the richer by his experience, if not in any other respect. He has viewed these "Socialistic institutions," now from many and widely varied positions. He has observed them from that distance which lends enchantment and from the close familiarity which breeds contempt. The nett result is expressed in the following, taken from the *Manchester Guardian* (11.5.10).

\* \* \*

"I have deliberately laid myself out to get into direct contact with the workers at their work and in their homes, and I have succeeded. This has enabled me to gauge the value of such attempts at remediable legislation as have been resorted to by the Australasian Governments. I used to attach importance to certain institutions before going over there, but this is no longer the case." Mr. Mann instanced in this connection compulsory arbitration and conciliation, and the various methods resorted to to establish wages boards, &c."

\* \* \*

We may now be said to have attained scientific proof regarding these matters. We have taken observations from a distance; Mr. Mann has verified them at close quarters. We have viewed them standing on our feet; Tom, with praiseworthy self-sacrifice, has stood on his head for eight years in order study them from that position. We draw a conclusion by the deductive method; T. M. works by induction. We argue from the general principle that labour-power is a commodity subject to the commodity laws, to the conclusion that therefore questions of wages are beyond wages boards and the like; Mr. Mann argues that as in practice the institutions are not any good, therefore we must be right. So, the same conclusion being reached by all roads and methods, our contention that these reforms at least are useless to the workers, reaches the altitude of a scientific verity.

\* \* \*

Mr. Mann, still being a fool—Solomon of wisdom, is already again attending the school of experience upon learning bent. Of course, being so long in an inverted position, it is natural that the increased flow of blood to his head should have resulted in a considerable growth of that bulbiform vegetable. Such circumstances make it unreasonable to expect him to hide his light under bushel. For some of us, of course, a pill box is sufficient, while most never get beyond the capacity of a hatter; but when the head swells beyond the power of the basket maker, then the light of our intellect must blaze forth.

Accordingly Mr. Mann has not returned without a plan. It is to convert us to "a kind of unionism known as industrial unionism."

Now that is the best of knowing that the Thames is not made of inflammable material—who knows what silly mistake he might have committed but for this saving information. But industrial unionism sounds rather familiar. There was "a kind of unionism" or midsummer madness came over from America a few years since. It seized upon the blind and halt and unstable in the working class political movement and swept them into the obscure asylum of anarchism—which seldom relinquishes a victim. Can it be that the same malady is coming back to us the other way round the world? Say, Mr. Mann, have you the mystic I.W.W. stowed away in your baggage? I'll think about Tariff Reform with a vengeance if you have.

\* \* \*

Talking of "bits of Socialism," we are again reminded of the I.L.P. faith in this matter by a converse statement in the *Labour Leader* (May 20th). "H.S." is reviewing a book and says: "Mr. Post alleges that even under Socialism there would be capitalism, and this is true; but the State (the whole people consciously organised) would be the capitalists; whereas now the capitalists are individuals who live parasitically upon the labour of the people."

In such a mad, irresponsible world as this it is distinctly reassuring to find that logical consistency is not quite a thing of the past. Of course if Socialism is to come "like a thief in the night," if we are to have "bits of Socialism under capitalism" increasing 'til we have "full Socialism," the time must come when we shall have bits of capitalism under Socialism. That's logic. How the workers can resist such logic is past understanding. If only the I.L.P. could make the working class see it as easily as their capitalist backers do, then we might soon have capitalism under Socialism: it is so easy—merely a changing of labels.

But the working-class wit (except that which finds its way into the I.L.P.) is not very nimble, and it gets baffled by such unanswered queries as these: Do the capitalists "live parasitically upon" the labour of others by virtue of being capitalists? If so, whose labour are capitalists to "live parasitically upon" when all are capitalists?

\* \* \*

Earlier the same writer says: "a word of thanks is due to Mr. Post for admitting formally that the Single Tax school of reformers are also in favour of capitalism," presumably because "when his argument is finished it appears that every form of parasitism other than land lordism is to remain." By the same token, since under the I.L.P. form of "Socialism" we are all to be capitalists, a word of thanks is due to "H.S." for affirming (what we have often said without thanks) that the I.L.P. school of reformers are also in favour of capitalism, because when his argument is finished, every form of parasitism is to be abolished except—capitalism!

\* \* \*

Mr. Enoch Edwards, speaking for the Labour Party in the House of Commons said (we quote the *Manchester Guardian*, May 12th): "I do not know that it is necessary for anyone to rise from these benches to assure this House and the country of the earnest and sincere sympathy of the great mass of the working classes of this country in the loss which the nation has sustained. . . . I am satisfied that throughout the length and breadth of this land to-day there will be one feeling and one feeling only, . . . and their prayers and sympathies will go out to those who are left to mourn, that they may be comforted and sustained in their great trial."

No, the reference was not to the murdered miners of Whitehaven, but was part of a simple Labour representative's contribution to the universal gush of slobber induced by the cloud that recently threw its shadow over the Turf.

\* \* \*

"Every million tons of coal mined," says the *Manchester Guardian*, "costs five human lives; this is not an indirect but the direct toll that these men pay on our account."

This of course shows the enormous "risks of capitalists"—in accepting insurance liabilities upon these men's lives.

A. E. J.

## THE SALVATION ARMY AND THE WORKING CLASS.

IV—CONCERNING HANBURY STREET. (Continued.)

## The "Balance" Dodge.

They have a very curious system of weekly "balances" at the Hanbury Street Elevator. This balance is the sum of money earned by the men over and above the cost of their keep and their money grant. In theory this is placed to their credit week by week, and is shown in a small book. In this book are also entered particulars of the men's work for the week. These books are not, it would appear, issued upon any regular system. Some of the men get them, some do not. If a worker asks to see his "book," as often as not he is told that he has no balance.

## "Clever" Bookkeeping.

The system of bookkeeping in vogue at Hanbury Street has besides the curious effect of gradually reducing a man's balance to nil, so that eventually the "wretched outcast" who has been taken in and done for, ceases to bother about anything at all. To quote John Manson's words: "This skilled workman goes on, and doubtless will go on to the end, doing his 9½ or 11½ hours work in the 24; trudging to and fro twice or thrice a day, in all weathers, poorly clad and poorly fed, between the Hanbury Street 'Hospital' and the Quaker Street refectory half-a-mile away; and accepting the Army's 2s. or 2s. 6d. pittance at the end of the week as a matter of course. It is well for him—and the Army—that there is little time for brooding." "With your mind taken up all day with work like this," he says, "you haven't time to think about anything else." I know few things more deplorable in civilized life to-day than the operation of this "elevator" which receives the helpless derelicts of industry, and, with specious promises, systematically imbues them with dull and listless despair.

"Whatever thy hand findeth to do, do it with all thy might," is the appropriate text inscribed in large letters across this philanthropic carpentry shop. It is appropriate—for the officials see that it is acted upon.

"Abandon hope, all ye who enter here" might fitly be made to supplement it. Did space permit, we could enlarge upon the trickery and swindling carried on in connection with the Quaker Street "hostelry." Those who care to follow up the story of this "side line" of the Army may with advantage refer to page 75 of "The Salvation Army and the Public."

## A Mean Defence.

When faced with any criticism of their Hanbury Street methods, the steadfast policy of the officials (from Booth down) has been to cast a slur on the quality of the men's work. "Derep," "derelict," are some amongst the choice epithets these curs employ when speaking of their unfortunate victims—victims, some of them, whose shoes they are not worthy to black.

"It is impossible," said Col. Moss on one occasion to a representative of the *Morning Leader*, "to pay trade union rates of wages to men who had never known or had forgotten how to perform the work of the trade." (The italics are ours.)

Go to Victoria Station (L.B.S.C.Ry.). As you enter the building one of the first objects—in fact the first—to catch your eye will be the very elaborate "train indicator." This was put up toward the end of November, 1907, and was entirely made in the Hanbury Street joinery works, neither foreman nor paid hands being employed on the job from start to finish.

One of the men engaged on this job—he was an elderly man—received as grant the magnificent sum of seven—pounds?—no, shillings a week for carrying through this special piece of work, the execution of which occupied some three months. The men under him were probably paid less; they certainly got no more. Think of it! Seven shining bob a week and no deductions either. Let us hope he laid the money out in a wise and thrifty fashion, as should



become a member of the working class. Or did he—nay, perish the thought—spend it in riotous living, consorting with drunkards and—faugh! don't we all know the nauseating tag by heart?

#### Evidence from Within.

As the Army officials have indignantly denied that Hanbury Street undersells its products, a glance at the official selling-price card will prove useful. Here it is:

#### HANBURY STREET JOINERY WORKS.

159-161 Hanbury St., Whitechapel, E.

Telephone No. 1063 London Wall.

Cheap joinery at the following prices.

1½ in. Sashes & Frames 5½d. per ft. sup. 15 ft. min.  
1½ in. " " 6d. " " "  
2 in. " " 6½d. " " "

Oak sill and brass face pullies 1d. per ft. extra.

2d. extra for every cut Bar over one.

6 ft. 6 in. × 2 ft. 6 in. × 1½ in. 4 panel doors from 7s.

Dressers, 3 ft. × 1 ft. 6 in. 18s. each.  
" 4 ft. × 1 ft. 6 in. 21s. "  
" 5 ft. × 1 ft. 6 in. 25s. "

Estimates given for Stairs and special joinery, from plans and specifications.

Special seats for Churches and Mission Halls. Shopfitting a speciality. Repairs promptly attended to.

Contractors for Iron and Wood Buildings of all classes.

Now let us compare these prices with those estimated by a builder (one of the cheapest in the trade).

	Army Price.	Builder's Price.*
Sashes and frames	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1½ in. per foot	5½	7½
1½ in. " "	6	8
2 in. " "	6½	8½
4 panel doors	7 0	9 3
Dressers		
3 ft. × 1 ft. 6 in.	18 0	1 10 0
4 ft. × 1 ft. 6 in.	1 1 0	1 19 4
5 ft. × 1 ft. 6 in.	1 5 0	2 10 4

\* Subject to 2½ per cent. discount at 1 month.

We leave this damning piece of evidence to the consideration of our readers, and refrain from comment. It is needless.

#### An Empty Promise.

Roused at length into action by the keen criticisms levelled at his scheme, and partly owing to representations made to him by a deputation from the last Trades' Union Congress, General Booth promised—not that Hanbury Street should cease; oh no,—but that in the future the institution should confine itself to "the production of articles for the exclusive use of the Salvation Army."

Much good will that do, even if the performance at all approach the spirit of the promise.

Men cannot be "elevated" by these methods, even if their work is that of making self denial collection boxes and benches for the Army's own use at 6d. to 1s. a week in cash, instead of doors, windows and staircases for the suburban builder at the same rate.

Though important in itself, the question of Hanbury Street has a much wider bearing than may at first sight appear. This is not the only joinery "elevator" of the Salvation Army in England. A leading official of that body suggested—as late as 1909—that "the public ought to finance General Booth in running a great many more"! Already he employs several thousands of men in different competitive industries carried on in his numerous "elevators" throughout the country.

As the Hanbury Street system prevails in all, the same swindle takes place all round. The men are not "elevated" or benefited, the workers are misled, employment at the ordinary rate of wages is diminished as General Booth's swindled industries expand, and no one profits except the Army and its customers.

(To be continued.)

## POT POURRI.

"To those Liberals who are really in earnest and who really care for things, we would especially appeal. Everything that they are in earnest about we are fighting for too."

That's George Lansbury ("Bow and Bromley Worker").

There's a reason. "George Lansbury is not only a Guardian and a Councillor, but a ratepayer. He knows personally where the shoe pinches." (Same paper.)

"A social reform can very well be in accord with the interests of the ruling class. It may for the moment leave their social domination unchecked, or, under certain circumstances, can even strengthen it. Social revolution, on the contrary, is from the first incompatible with the interests of the ruling class since it signifies the annihilation of their power."—Kautsky.

#### "SOCIALIST AND KING EDWARD."

"Mr. Blatchford, writing in the *Clarion*, says:

"I may say now what I could not say before, that when I said the nation 'needed a man' I was thinking of the King. I felt that the King could save the situation and avert the danger; he had the love and confidence of the Empire. He had but to speak and the Empire would have been safe. When I heard that the King was dead I knew that the one man who could move us all had fallen for ever silent."

*Daily Mail* quoting *Clarion* May 20th.

Of course the unqualified approval of Tories, Jingles, Liberals, and the promiscuously pudding-headed, won't shake the placid, dog-like fidelity of that last century product, the *Clarionette*. To the head-burying characteristic of the ostrich is added its digestion, and a mentality which has viewed with unconcern or excuses the nobbling of Blatchford by the Harnsworth brigade, is not likely to boggle at the above.

for within the hollow crown  
That rounds the mortal temples of a king,  
Keeps Death his court; and there the antick sits,

Scoffing his state, and grinning at his pomp;  
Allowing him a breath, a little scene,  
To monarchise, be feared, and kill with looks;  
Infusing him with self and vain conceit,—  
As if this flesh, which walls about our life,  
Were brass impregnable; and humour'd thus,  
Comes at the last, and with a little pin  
Bore through his castle wall, and—farewell king!

"King Richard II., Act III., Scene 2.

After which nothing remains but to buy a black tie and ruminate on the futility of endeavouring to find a virtue that was not the distinct and unmistakable property of Edward the Seventh.

"Rev. Mr. Wright opened the meeting by prayer." No! it was not a memorial service, nor yet a mothers' meeting. It was simply a friendly conclave whereat the Indians of Sarnia, Ontario, were asked to surrender their "reservation." The one-time lords of limitless prairie-land are requested to get off the last miserable patch of planet which the white man had set aside for their use in the full and fervent hope that time and whisky would do the needful. But Sarnia gets impatient—and the meeting opens with prayer. The Sarnia Indians, however, were not having, and we await the usual "disturbance," and the inevitable Maxim guns. The Rev. Mr. Wright will be on hand—to bless the troops.

#### "A HUMAN DOCUMENT."

"There is a world of pathos in the story of Francis Harding, a London clerk, who died and was buried at sea last week. Harding, being out of work, left his family in London. Al-

though weak and ill, as the result of long privation, he volunteered to work as a stoker on a White Star vessel, so as to reach the United States, where he had heard there was work to be obtained. His strength failed him, as might have been expected, he died before he could set his foot in the new land, and his wife and children were left bereaved and destitute. But some will think that it was almost worth while that they should suffer, to teach the many lessons of his story. His body had not been committed to the deep when the thoughts of the passengers and officers turned with sympathy to the unknown family, and in a few minutes £200 had been subscribed to help them in their trouble. The world is all right. That is the lesson of the business as it stands. All that we are lacking is organisation. There is work for all, while many are being overworked. There is wealth enough and to spare to prevent the possibility of want. And there is no lack of sympathy, no unwillingness to help, when once the need is known. Those who desire to solve the terrible problem illustrated by Harding's story have to organise both industry and charity upon a basis that will bring the elements into useful co-operation."—*Lloyd's*, May 1st.

You see! The world is all right—jolly fine place. All you have to do when the sharks of Throgmorton Avenue have squeezed you dry, is to embark on a holiday cruise in the stokehole of a White Star liner. The ec-static enjoyment derived in the space of two or three days from this little experience will prepare you for another kind of shark, and nothing will remain to be done but to introduce you for the last time to "the sack," and chuck you down amongst the tiddlers. But not in vain; oh no! not in vain. "It is almost worth while that they should suffer, to teach the many lessons of the story."

Of course it is quite by chance that the only lesson of the story which that truly Christian-capitalist and capitalist Christian newspaper enlarged upon was that showing how good and sympathetic the world is toward those whom it starves to death. Equally of course, however, there are other lessons, which sooner or later the working class must learn and will, in spite of the capitalist Press.

WILFRED.

## OUTPOSTS OF EMPIRE.

THE ruling class of Great Britain have managed to seize more of the earth's surface than any of their competitors. Capitalists of other lands are handicapped, therefore, in finding a market for the increasing quantity of products that result from modern industry. In consequence they have of recent years shown great activity in organising and extending their fighting forces, in view of the wars rendered almost inevitable in the fierce struggle for markets and colonies, present and to come. The capitalist class of England are using all endeavours to safeguard their interests and to maintain their supremacy, and they view with dismay the admitted fact that the state of recruiting is such that the authorities dare not impose the severe training that obtains in the armies of their Continental rivals. They see that it is no patriotic motive that leads a man to join the "colours," but merely the want of the necessities of life. The Army Medical Department in their August 1908 report said: "The majority of recruits were growing lads and a large number were out of employment at the time of enlistment. Experienced recruiting agents estimate the proportion of the latter as high as 95% of the total. In many instances the lads were suffering from want of food and were generally in poor condition. The old tests which recruits used to be subjected to are far too severe for the would-be soldier of to-day."

To remedy this state of affairs, to get a larger and better supply, our masters are trying to arouse and foster the military spirit in the sons of the workers. Hence, they institute rifle ranges in the schools, start Boys' Brigade and Boy Scout movements. They also use men who have a following among certain circles—men like Robert Blatchford—to write articles in their Press, praising the British Army and painting

the life of "Tommy Atkins" in rosy colours. The ignorance of the workers is one of the chief obstacles which Socialists at present have to face. On the other hand it is the one thing upon which the capitalists trade, when dealing with the workers. It is with a view to dispelling the ignorance of how the employing class treat those who serve them that the following two extracts from the *Liberal Press* are given.

"Brooding over poverty and his inability to find employment, Joseph Henry Broad, twenty-eight, a builder's labourer, of Gold-street, Stepney, ended his misery by committing suicide. The inquest disclosed a pathetic story. The widow stated that her husband was formerly a soldier in the 2nd Essex Battalion. He served in the South African war, and had two medals and three bars. They had been married eleven months, and during the whole of that time had been particularly unfortunate, her husband having had only six weeks' work. He was much depressed owing to not being able to obtain employment, and on the day of his death she found him sitting by the fire, crying bitterly. Witness left the room for a few minutes, and on her return she found that he had hanged himself with a leather belt. Medical assistance was summoned, but her husband was found to be dead.

"Witness added that her husband recently had influenza. The reason he was crying was because they could not meet their expenses. After paying the rent on that morning they had only two farthings left. The deceased was invalided home from South Africa, and had a pension of sixpence per day. The Coroner: How have you managed to live? Witness: We borrowed on the pension. Witness further stated that she and her husband had been very short of food. On Friday last all they had to eat was a bloater between them, and on Saturday a half-pennyworth of fried potatoes. Of late they had subsisted mainly on bread and butter. Her husband's relatives were poor people, but used to make a collection weekly in order to help them."

*Reynolds' Newspaper*, 1.5.10.

"Three little children were murdered at Islington last night. It is alleged that their father cut their throats with a razor during the mother's absence from home. The cause of the dreadful crime was poverty. The scene of the tragedy was a house in Dennis-street off the York-road, where Henry Higginbottom, his wife, and three of a family occupied one room. Higginbottom, who has been in the army, is a carman, but of late has been out of employment. He is only 25 years of age. Continued unemployment had made him depressed and this preyed upon his mind. Higginbottom is said to have served in the South African War, and to be at the present time in the Army Reserve and in receipt of a pension. The wife is employed at a coffee shop. She was called from her employment to hear the news of the tragedy, and when she saw her children lying dead she fainted."—*Reynolds' Newspaper*, 24.4.10.

After fighting for those who rule, they were left to suffer hunger and to face unemployment; to see those dependent upon them want. These men helped the capitalists to get a "United South Africa"; to raise the Union Jack over the graves of thousands of men, women and children on the veldt. How different has Lord Kitchener been treated on his return! Fêted by the leading lights of the capitalist class everywhere. They did not let him want. The workers, after all, are so many, so they can be left to starve.

The Liberal and Tory party voted £50,000 to Lord Kitchener and £100,000 to Lord Roberts for their misdeeds in South Africa.

Fellow workers, your masters take advantage of your hunger and nakedness to enlist you in their battalions. For what? To defend their property at home and abroad; to keep your fellow slaves in subjection in Britain; to extend the boundaries of their empire.

You own no property to defend; you have no freedom to conserve. It behoves you, therefore, whether inside or outside the army, to join the Socialist Party.

The aim of the Socialist Party is to abolish the property conditions that give rise to wars; to institute a system wherein armies and navies become unnecessary and merely figure in the memories of a hated past. Read its literature.

A. K.

## REWARD OF ABILITY.

THE capitalist class to day have control of the education of the worker's children. Our youngsters have placed over them a set of more or less "educated" individuals, who, trained to the idea that capitalism is all that is good and noble, too often succeed in drilling into their charges' minds the same fallacious notion. So our children leave school obsessed with the idea that capitalism is a system in which the good and virtuous youth is sure to find wealth, happiness and honourable place, if virtue be combined with industry and meekness.

The discerning young worker who is compelled to obtain a livelihood in the factory or workshop, soon finds that the capitalist system is not what it is made to appear. He finds himself in a world of constant warfare—not only between class and class, but between his fellow worker and himself; a warfare in which he is compelled to engage in order to get and keep a job.

He has been told of the dignity of labour and the certainty of rising to an honourable place if only he applies himself studiously to his work. He finds, however, instead of a field-marshal's baton in his knapsack, a key to the workhouse, and instead of welcome in the field of labour, he is received with indifference by the employers and with jealousy by his fellow employees.

And he further finds that in the factory, as in all other stations of life, the reward of virtue is too often the workhouse or the gutter.

The orthodox anti-Socialist talks much of the "reward of ability" under capitalism, and of the absence of incentive that would result from the abolition of poverty.

In the factory and workshop the worker is faced with the knowledge that the more he produces the worse it is for him and his class, that should he introduce methods increasing the productivity of his own and his fellows' labour, increased unemployment must result.

Who reaps the reward of the inventive genius of the worker? Is it the working class or the class that own the means of wealth production? Professor Thorold Rogers says:

"In 1495 the peasant could provision his family for 12 months by 15 weeks of ordinary work while an artisan could achieve the same result in ten weeks. In 1533 the price of wheat was, relatively speaking, high, and in this case the farm labourer would have to give nearly double to make a provision as his ancestor did in 1495, while the artisan would have to give between 14 and 15 weeks work for a similar store. The first year is an exceedingly cheap one, the latter, the less advantageous to the labourer, is one in which he still might be able to maintain his family and lay by a considerable margin from the charges of his household, from a quarter to a half of his earnings."

How many labourers in 1910, with all the "labour-saving" machinery, with all the modern improvements in agriculture and manufacture, can lay by from a quarter to a half of their wages after meeting the expenses of the household? How many in the best of modern "good times" can maintain themselves and their families with ten weeks work a year?

Charles Booth tells us that 30 per cent. of the population of London are continually on or below the poverty line, while Thorold Rogers says that in the 13th and 14th centuries there was demand for labour winter and summer on the above quoted conditions, that the labourer in harvest time received the same wages as the artisan, and that the wages of the women workers were only a little less than those of the men.

To-day, with all the increased productivity of labour, the working class—the producers of all the wealth of society—are in such a condition of poverty and wretchedness that they are compelled to apply to the charity of the shirkers for doles, for the crust of bread and the basin of soup by the aid of which to eke out a miserable existence.

How does this compare with the time mentioned by Thorold Rogers? Are the conditions of the workers' lives altered for the better? Those who know aught of their conditions then and now, know that they are immeasurably

worse in the present day.

Miss Jones, who according to the *Daily News* (24.10) is "a well known Yorkshire Factory inspector," reports:

"Married women in the West Riding of Yorkshire, in addition to bearing the children and caring for the home, are often compelled partly and sometimes wholly to support their family. In a number of cases which come under our notice the wives work all day in the mill and on their return, tidy the home, baking and washing for the family. Many do not retire till midnight, rising again early in order to provide for a mid-day meal before going to work. In the dinner hour they quickly return, prepare the meal, serve the husband and children, swallowing their food far too hurriedly and again hasten back to work. Their lives often appear to be little better than those of slaves, and many at 45 are broken-down women prematurely aged. If a community is to be judged by the status of its women, here certainly the condition of the working women reminds one of coolie women in India, or those of many of the African tribes where women are more or less beasts of burden."

In face of the above, which could be backed by dozens of other reports from all over the country, you are told of the enormous increase of wealth under this, "our" free trade system. Every improvement in the capitalist machine adds to the wealth of the idle class, and adds also to the misery of the toilers.

And those who have been instrumental in inventing the means whereby the capitalist class have obtained this enormous wealth—how have they fared?

Those who, according to the anti-Socialist, are entitled to the reward of their ability; who have devoted their lives to the perfection of the capitalist profit-grinding machine, are they revelling in luxury or ending their days in poverty?

The capitalist concern is not run on the principle of love and honour, neither does the conscious worker toil for the love of work or the benefit of society. "The real and effectual discipline which is exercised over a workman," says Adam Smith, "is not that of his corporation, but of his customers. It is the fear of losing his employment which restrains his frauds and corrects his negligence." He is compelled to work by fear of starvation, and to work hard by the fear of the sack.

Take, as an example of the reward given to the men of ability, the case of those who have produced the finest works of art under conditions that would have driven mad the sweating bully who to-day we are told is the captain of industry; the possessor of that mystic power, "directive ability." Look through the lives of Milton, Dryden, Steele, Goldsmith, Fielding, Savage, Chatterton, Spencer, Marx, Cervantes, and scores of others who have enriched society with their art and learning and you will see how private enterprise has rewarded them.

To-day the inventor is robbed of the fruits of his labour just as the labourer is robbed of the wealth he produces. While the present system of society is allowed to last and a few individuals are permitted to monopolise the wealth of society and hold the tools of production to the detriment of those who use them and produce that wealth; while the workers are content that a few shall dominate them, so long will the workers vegetate amid sordid and unhealthy conditions. So long as they are willing to leave their destiny, their lives, at the disposal of a master class, so long will that master class rob them, so long will they be compelled to toil that others may enjoy; so long will they use their overworked brain and muscle that others may lie in the lap of luxury and indolence.

When the workers recognise their true position as wage-slaves, when they recognise, as we do, that they must organise to fight the capitalist class; when, by forcing their tired brains to study the history of their class, they learn the true nature of the problems that surround them, they will become Socialists and organise to overturn this system of society which allows a class of idle parasites to live upon their product.

Then and then only shall the good things of life, the results of labour, of genius and of ability, be enjoyed by those who assist in any way in their production.

T. W. L.



# S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR JULY.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	3rd.	10th.	17th.	24th.	31st.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30 H. Cooper	P. G. Barker	D. Fisher	A. Barker	J. Roe
"	7.30 P. G. Barker	H. Martin	T. W. Allen	J. Fitzgerald	H. Martin
Brockwell Park	6.30 H. Martin	J. Halls	H. Joy	J. Roe	A. Barker
Edmonton, the Green	8.0 A. Anderson	H. Joy	F. Dawkins	A. Pearson	J. Fitzgerald
Finsbury Park	3.30 A. Reginald	F. Dawkins	J. Fitzgerald	A. Anderson	F. Dawkins
Forest Gate, Sebert Rd.	11.30 H. King	A. Jacobs	J. Roe	D. Fisher	H. King
Fulham Cross, Dawes-rd.	" J. Roe	A. Barker	H. Newman	H. Joy	H. Joy
Kennington Triangle	11.30 H. Newman	A. Reginald	F. W. Stearn	H. Martin	P. G. Barker
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30 T. W. Allen	H. King	F. Dawkins	R. Kent	R. Fox
"	7.30 A. Jacobs	F. Dawkins	H. King	F. Dawkins	J. Halls
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30 R. Fox	J. E. Roe	H. Martin	T. W. Allen	A. Jacobs
Parliament Hill	6.0 J. Halls	T. W. Allen	P. G. Barker	T. W. Allen	A. Reginald
Peckham Triangle	7.0 H. Joy	H. Newman	F. Leigh	J. Halls	J. Kemble
Stoke Newington, Ridley Rd., Dalston	11.30 R. Kent	D. Fisher	R. Fox	F. Dawkins	D. Fisher
Tooting Broadway	" H. Joy	H. Martin	J. Halls	H. Newman	A. Barker
"	7.30 D. Fisher	H. Cooper	J. Kemble	R. Fox	H. Joy
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	11.30 D. Fisher	F. W. Stearn	R. Kent	W. Pearson	A. Anderson
"	7.30 T. W. Allen	A. Anderson	J. Fitzgerald	A. Reginald	F. E. Dawkins
Walthamstow, Hoe-st. Stn.	8.0 H. Newman	D. Fisher	A. Jacobs	H. Joy	T. W. Allen
Wandsworth, Buckhold Road	8.0 P. G. Barker	J. E. Roe	A. Reginald	H. Cooper	J. E. Roe
Wandsworth Market Place	8.0 F. Leigh	J. Fitzgerald	H. Newman	F. Leigh	F. W. Stearn
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30 F. W. Stearn	H. Newman	A. Barker	H. King	A. Jacobs
"	7.30 A. W. Pearson	R. Fox	A. Anderson	F. Stearn	A. Pearson
Woolwich, Beresford-sq.	11.30 F. Dawkins	T. W. Allen	A. Anderson	J. Fitzgerald	H. Newman
MOONDAYS.—Queen's-square, Upton Pk., 8.	Islington, Highbury, Cnr. 8.30.				
TUESDAYS.—Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m.					
WEDNESDAYS.—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30.	Walham Green, Church, 8.	Plaistow, Greengate, 8	Peck-		
THURSDAYS.—Battersea, Princes Head, 8.0.	Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30.	Ham Triangle 8.30			
FRIDAYS.—Paddington, Prince of Wales, 8.30.	Tooting Broadway, 8.30.	St. Loy's rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30			
SATURDAYS.—Earlsfield, Magdalene Road, 7 p.m.	Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m.				
East Ham, Ruskin Avenue, 8.	Streatham, Fountain, 8 p.m.				

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

### RECEIVED—

"Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)  
 "Weekly People" (New York).  
 "New York Call" (New York)  
 "Gaelic American" (New York).  
 "Western Wage-Earner," (Vancouver, B.C.)  
 "Civil Service Socialist" (London).  
 "Humanitarian Era"  
 "Free Hindustan"  
 "The New World" West Ham.

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OF THE

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## THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

### OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society  
 based upon the common ownership and democratic  
 control of the means and instruments  
 for producing and distributing wealth by and  
 in the interest of the whole community.

## Declaration of Principles

### THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

#### HOLDS

That society as at present constituted is  
 based upon the ownership of the means of living  
 (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capital-  
 ist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement  
 of the working-class, by whose labour  
 alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism  
 of interests, manifesting itself as a class  
 struggle, between those who possess but do not  
 produce, and those who produce but do not  
 possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only  
 by the emancipation of the working-class from  
 the domination of the master-class, by the conversion  
 into the common property of society of the means  
 of production and distribution, and their democratic  
 control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the  
 working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom,  
 the emancipation of the working-class will  
 involve the emancipation of all mankind without  
 distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of  
 the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including  
 the armed forces of the nation, exists only to  
 conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of  
 the wealth taken from the workers, the working-  
 class must organise consciously and politically  
 for the conquest of the powers of government,  
 national and local, in order that this machinery,  
 including these forces, may be converted from  
 an instrument of oppression into the agent of  
 emancipation and the overthrow of privilege,  
 aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression  
 of class interests, and as the interest of  
 the working-class is diametrically opposed to  
 the interests of all sections of the master-class,  
 the party seeking working-class emancipation  
 must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore,  
 enters the field of political action determined  
 to wage war against all other political  
 parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly  
 capitalist, and calls upon the members of the  
 working-class of this country to muster under  
 its banner to the end that a speedy termination  
 may be wrought to the system which deprives  
 them of the fruits of their labour, and that  
 poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to  
 equality, and slavery to freedom.

## APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

To the Secretary,

.....Branch, S.P.G.B.

I hereby declare my adhesion to the above  
 principles, and request enrolment as member  
 of The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

Signature.....

Address.....

Date.....

SPECIAL NOTE.—This form cannot be accepted if detached  
 from Declaration printed above. The  
 complete column must be handed to branch Sec.



THE WORLD OF WORKERS  
THE  
**SOCIALIST**  
STANDARD

The Official Organ of the Socialist Party of Great Britain.

No. 72. Vol. 6.]

LONDON, AUGUST 1910.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

**THE LIES OF LIBERALISM.**  
A RECORD OF FALSE PRETENCE AND LOW CUNNING.

In the course of his Budget speech Mr. Lloyd George dwelt upon the wonderful extent of industry and trade. He indulged in the usual lies about working-class prosperity and foreshadowed "the better time coming," in the following words:

**Without a blush.**

"The commercial world everywhere is in better heart. There is more enterprise and everything makes the prospect much brighter. I am told, on authority, I cannot doubt, that we shall probably see a greater volume of trade this year and next than has ever been witnessed in the history of this country . . . All indications are that this year's trade will be good, that next year's trade will be better, that the people will be prosperous and that therefore the revenue will show an expansion."

Will the people be prosperous? If by the "people" is meant the workers we deny it and submit the following lesson from the past (provided by the Liberals themselves) as evidence in support of our point of view.

In the leading article of the *Daily Chronicle* (amongst other papers) for June 6th, 1903, we were told:

"Opportunistly there are published this morning two official returns of great interest and importance with regard to British Trade. . . The figures tell a tale both absolutely and relatively of great prosperity. . . They show that the whole volume of British Trade has increased from 764 millions sterling in 1898 to 877 in 1902 . . . we have such evidence before us that we are doing very well as we are."

In the very same issue appears a report of the now famous speech delivered on the previous day in the City Hall, Perth, by Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, who said:

"We know that there is about 30% of our population underfed, on the verge of hunger . . . The condition of the people is serious enough under Free Trade; it is a question which haunts us, and surely the fact that about 30% of the population is living with the grip of perpetual poverty upon it, is and ought to be a sufficient answer to the Prime Minister."

It was also in that "boom" year that Mr. Winston Churchill made his speech at Edinburgh, during which he said:

"I have often asked myself whether our splendid civilisation really conferred blessings on all classes. Is it true to say that the poorest man in Scotland is not any happier than the poorest Hottentot or the poorest Eskimo? I am inclined to think that he is not any happier but perhaps more miserable. He is homeless in the heart of great cities; he is hungry in the midst of plenty such as was never seen

on earth before and he suffers the privations of the savage with the nerves of civilised man.

"To compare the life and lot of the African aboriginal—secure in his abyss of contented degradation, rich in that he lacks everything and wants nothing—with the long nightmare of worry and privation, of dirt and gloom and squalor, lit only by gleams of torturing knowledge and tantalizing hope, which constitutes the lives of so many poor people in England and Scotland, is to feel the ground tremble underfoot."

Despite the widespread poverty, the Liberal Party are very active just now, in claiming that unemployment is rapidly declining and that the conditions of life for all are improving because of the advance of commerce. But let the reader reflect on the facts given above showing the existence of terrible poverty at the same time as an unequalled increase in the amount of wealth produced and it will then be clearly seen that the claims of Liberalism are fraudulent.

We are continually told that the recent legislation of the Liberals is beneficial to the workers. An examination of the chief items will show how groundless is this statement.

**A Fraudulent**

**Claim Exposed.**

The Board of Trade Labour Exchanges (opened February 1st, 1910) have been hailed with delight in many quarters. Below we give the returns published in the April, May and June issues of the "Board of Trade Labour Gazette." It should be understood that the number of applicants practically represents different persons, because renewals are not again counted.

No. of applications for work	No. of vacancies filled
During Feby. 216,813	12,628
" March 126,119	20,395
" April 116,523	23,858
" May 100,392	24,025
559,847	80,906

These figures show how the Liberals have lied about unemployment and the influence of Labour Bureaux. What a fraud! 80,906 jobs and 559,847 applications for them! No wonder the number of applicants fell after the first month, seeing how few jobs could be had through them.

How greatly these Exchanges are opposed to the interests of the working class was indicated by recent instances in which they provided strike-breakers. One or two of these cases only are dealt with here, owing to this being an article and not a pamphlet.

A London firm of cabinetmakers recently refused to pay the union rate to their workmen. The men were called out by their union but the masters applied to the Labour Exchange for "hands." (It is true that the regulations require

all applicants to be told if a strike is on at the firm applying. But the regulations only exist on paper.) The Exchange

**Strike-smashing**  
**Up to Date.** wrote the firm asking whether a strike was proceeding as they had been informed so by the union. But the very morning that the letter arrived, and before a reply was sent, men arrived from the Labour Exchange and were taken on.

In June a strike arose at Newport Docks, and Messrs. Houlder Bros. had the good fortune to be supplied with strike smashers by both the Labour Exchange and Mr. Collins's Free Labour Association! Down at Napsbury Pauper Lunatic Asylum, another wing is being built to accommodate the increasing number of workers whom the present system mentally cripples. The contractors for the work sought, in true capitalist spirit, to bring more unpaid labour out of the labourers, paying them 5½d. per hour. The toilers, directly provoked by this starvation rate, remonstrated on June 15th, and were thereupon paid 6d. Before many hours had passed strikebreakers arrived from a London Labour Exchange, and supplanted the men on strike. According to their own account, no mention of there being a strike down at Napsbury was made to the strikebreakers.

Another motive our Liberal capitalists had in establishing these Labour Exchanges. A quotation from Leaflet No. 16 ("Rough on Rates") issued by the Budget League, illustrates this:

"These Labour Exchanges will contain accurate lists of unemployed men and women. By means of telephone a man will be able to find out if there is a job for him in a distant town without going on tramp to the town itself. This means that casual wards maintained by the rate-payers' money will fall into disuse and large sums of public money will be saved."

Bearing in mind that it is the property owners and not the workers who pay the rates, we can see whose interests this measure protects.

The same reason causes them to favour unemployment insurance, as the following from the pamphlet quoted above tells us:

"The principle of insurance is that you pay money when times are good and receive it back when times are bad! This scheme means therefore that during periods of depression, money will be put into circulation, thousands of families kept off the rates," etc., etc.

The Road Development Bill has been produced to lessen unemployment, we are informed.

The real position is that commercial progress accompanied by the revolution in modes of transit from the horse-drawn vehicle to the motor, makes necessary to the capitalists the laying of roads more suitable for the heavier traffic



of commerce and the pleasure cars of the idle rich.

The method is to have roads that will not need the constant repairing that the present ones do, and the alterations are brought under the control of the national executive of the capitalist class to ensure more economic maintenance, and results in less work being needed to keep the roads in good condition. To quote again from that Liberal bill: "Improvements will then be effected at the charge of the Treasury, which would otherwise necessarily add to the rates of certain districts, and special attention will be devoted to laying down a more durable and less dusty surface to our highway. This again will relieve local rates." Here the old lesson is recalled, that economies effected under capitalism increase unemployment.

After the report of the Royal Commission on Home Work, the Trade Boards Act was passed, setting up minimum wages boards. Hence the cry of the Liberals: "Look what we have done for Labour!" They point out quite jubilantly, that this Act has been welcomed by many of the largest employers!

What actually results from this measure is the alteration of the methods under which exploitation is carried on. Large employers find it less profitable to employ the home workers than before. They bring young and more energetic workers into their factories, where the latest wages saving machinery and "speeding up" methods are introduced under carefully adjusted systems of division of labour. The small manufacturer is forced out because of the advantage of the large factory with the big purse behind it. The older workers, who did manage to scrape along by taking work and slaving in their "homes" instead of in the factory, now find it impossible to get work. Thus on every hand these measures prove detrimental to our class owing to wealth being produced under the new methods with fewer workers than before. The larger output for less wages means accentuation of poverty all along the line. The Singer Sewing Machine Co. issued to clothing manufacturers in the North of England, a circular on "The Wholesale Clothing Trade and Labour-Saving Machinery," drawing attention to an exhibition at Leeds of many wonderful new machines. An extract from it runs:

"The display has already been visited by large numbers of the clothing manufacturers of Yorkshire and Lancashire and more distant parts, and readers interested in the manufacture of clothing may be recommended to learn by a personal visit and inspection, what the new methods and these improved machines may mean to them, especially in view of the new Trade Boards Act which is now coming into operation."

The Housing and Town Planning Act is also instance 1 by the Liberals as beneficial legislation and it therefore calls for a few words to show its essentially capitalist character.

The trend of commercial development is to need wider streets and more luxurious surroundings for the epuriums of the capitalist class. Consequently under the above, as under other housing acts, the workers are driven further away from the main thoroughfares, slums are abolished in one place merely to arise elsewhere.

The rents of the buildings erected on the sites of the slums (to yield greater profit to the property owners) are generally higher, and the workers, unable to pay more rent, are forced to turn to other quarters, and thus slumdom becomes intensified. In the model dwellings erected by "ten per cent. philanthropy" associations and municipalities, severe strictures are often made as to the number of persons and children per room. This leads the evicted of the slums to resort to worse tenements on account of their lack of resources and therefore the workers are made more uncomfortable than ever. This is the logical result of housing reform under capitalism. Most of the reforms touched upon in this article exist in Germany. Labour Bureaux, Unemployment and Invalidity Insurance, Housing Reforms—all have flourished for some time past over there, yet the *Liberal Press* and politicians are telling us that the condition of the workers is worse than here. So much for their "blessed" reforms.

We still hear the Liberals repeating the old lie—Free Trade means security for the worker. We have shown from the returns of their own Labour Exchanges how prevalent unemployment

is under capitalism. Yet this unemployment exists in spite of the fact that more people emigrated from and fewer immigrated into Great Britain last year than for many years past. The figures in the June issue of the "Board of Trade Labour Gazette" relating to emigration from Great Britain and immigration into Great Britain to and from countries beyond Europe are:

	1909	1908
Emigration	474,374	386,411
Immigration	261,325	342,922

The brutal conditions imposed upon the workers by the employing class, Liberal and Tory alike, force them to leave the land of their birth, to scour the world in search of a job. They leave Great Britain, where unemployment, insecurity of life, and poverty press upon them, to face the same old "problem" thousands of miles away. It's the old vain hope of expecting to do better in a strange land. More than half the emigrants went to America. The poverty of the workers there was depicted in the May issue of the *Socialist Standard*.

The Liberal papers have been filling pages with glowing accounts of the fine opportunities supposed to be awaiting the workers in the colonies, with special reference to Canada, where the workers (they say) are welcomed with open arms. Earl Gray, on his recent visit to this country, has been telling the same tale. How fraudulent this emigration campaign is may be appreciated by noticing the fact that on March 19th, 1910 the Canadian Government issued a new notice making entry into the country more difficult than ever. The new rules, while making demand that emigrants should be possessed of from 25 to 50 dollars per head ("their absolute property") according to the time of the year. Surely if they were really pining for more wages in Canada they would not impose these onerous conditions. Since the new regulations were made scores of British workers have been sent back to this country. The great miners' strike at Glace Bay and Spring Hill should show how real the class struggle is in Canada.

Concerning Australia, we have the testimony of social reformers (Mr. Ben Tillett and Mr. Tom Mann, for example) who on returning from there, told of the fierce struggle to live out there in spite of Labour Ministries, wages boards, compulsory arbitration, and many other reforms that misled workers are advocating here. The strike of miners at Newcastle and Broken Hill, of the State employed Sydney tramwaymen (to mention only a few) serve to illustrate the fact that the worker who emigrates merely exchanges misery in one place for misery elsewhere. The May No. of the "Board of Trade Gazette" states that unemployment is rife in many leading industries "down under." "United South Africa" offers little prospect for the worker. There the black slave has supplanted the yellow one, and the white slave is not required because the colored is cheaper.

The policy of the Liberal Party is made up of measures all quite as fraudulent as those we have criticised. Throughout their history they have been the consistent enemies of the working class, just as much as the Tory party. To-day both parties are crying "reform." This eagerness of the capitalist class to pass reforms sheds light upon the real nature of reform under capitalism. Reforms are favoured by the ruling class for two reasons: firstly, because their immediate material interests are thereby served, and secondly, because they can be used to deceive workmen and induce them to support capitalist parties. "The Repeal of the Corn Laws" was passed for capitalist ends, yet it was used to rally to the side of the Liberal Party, millions of workmen. Richard Cobden said: "The great capitalist class formed an excellent basis for the Free Trade Movement, for they had inexhaustible purses which they opened freely in a contest where not only their pecuniary interests, but their pride as an order was at stake. (Morley's "Life of Cobden.")

The evolution of the present system proceeds faster than the enacting of reform, and even any slight benefit going to the workers is soon more than cancelled by the operations of capitalist development. The working class must learn the simple lesson that while one class owns the means of producing the necessities of life, the

rest of society is enslaved to that class. The Liberal and Tory parties alike stand for the maintenance of capitalism, and must therefore be opposed by us. The members of the working class must join the proletariat army fighting for political control: the power required in order that those things necessary for producing wealth may become the common heritage of all—be owned in common and administered in the interest of ALL. They must come into the firing line and usher in a bright and joyful future for themselves and the race that is to be.

A. K.

## MARX'S THEORIES DEBATED.

We take from the "Manchester Chronicle" of June 18 the following report of a debate which took place at the Rusholme Public Hall between J. Fitzgerald, representing the Socialist Party, and Mr. G. W. de Tunzelmann, B.Sc., M.I.E.E., representing the Anti-Socialist Union. The subject of the debate was "That the theoretic system of Karl Marx is unsound."

MR. DE TUNZELMANN.

Mr. de Tunzelmann said the three doctrines of Marx which he wished to dispose of were first his materialistic view of society; secondly, his economic theory; and thirdly, Marx's views of the "class war." Marx had emphatically declared atheism to be essential to his system; no doubt because materialism was prevalent at the time he wrote. Nowadays materialism was a dead horse, and not even a fifth rate thinker supported it. Without flogging a dead horse he would certainly like to know how the materialist would account for a man's conviction of his own personal identity with what he was twenty years ago, although in that time every particle in his body had been renewed more than once. Thus the very foundation of Marx's economic system was rotten at the very beginning. The foundation of Marx's economic theory was his theory of exchange-value, which was that the exchange-value of a commodity, i.e., the price it fetched in the open market, was determined by the material and the labour put into that material. He admitted the varying quality of labour, and that it must contain brain work and hand work. This was the right view of value, according to which the price or value of any commodity was determined by the amount of hand and brain labour spent upon it, the cost of the material, and the law of supply and demand. Marx, however, dropped out the cost of the material, claiming that this could be expressed in terms of labour only, as though sand could be turned into gold dust if only enough labour were spent upon it. He also stated that brain work could be expressed in terms of hand work. By way of illustrating the utter absurdity of Marx's theory of the exchange-value of a commodity the speaker instanced the case of a trawler which in a haul of an hour took up a large number of fish, and in the next haul a large tree stump which had broken the net and allowed the fish to escape. Yet according to Marx's idea of ignoring the material and counting only the labour, the two hauls were of the same value, nay, the value of the last was even greater, because the time taken up in repairing the net after the second haul had to be included. In fact Marx's theory was only part of the practical exchange value, just as a watch case was part of a watch, and his economic arguments were mere thimble-rigging. In business transactions Marx talked about what he called "surplus-value," which was, he assumed, obtained by robbing the worker of half his wages, and was the equivalent of capital. Afterwards he asserted that all profit, as well as capital, was obtained by robbing the worker of part of his wages. This involved the obvious absurdity that no profit could be made on fixed capital, i.e., buildings, machinery, and so on; but only on variable capital which was expended in wages. He also made the false assumption that the capitalist did no work, ran no risk, and had no share in the industrial process, though elsewhere he admitted that the same capitalist had to arrange the conditions of production and organise the process so as to attain success. Besides this,

and without attempting to prove what he said, he stated that all capitalists were simply robbers, and the necessity for a class war between them and the workers followed as a natural consequence. Capital, like other forms of wealth, might be transferred by robbery from one holder to another, but before this could be done it had to be called into being, and no process of robbery could do that. On the basis that all capital was a fixed quantity, and its accumulation only possible by robbing the worker, Marx concluded that the working classes must be growing poorer, and predicted that sooner or later a bloody revolution would be the result. He also contended that machinery gave the capitalist greater power over the workers and increased their poverty. Both conclusions were in direct conflict to historical fact.

MR. FITZGERALD.

Mr. Fitzgerald said his opponent had claimed that no fifth rate thinker accepted Marx's materialistic conception of history, yet Lewis H. Morgan, probably the greatest ethnologist that ever lived, discovered independently this basis of society, and laid it down in his book, "Ancient Society." Another writer, Professor Seligmann, of Columbia University, said in his "Economic Interpretation of History," "Whether or no we agree with Marx's analysis of industrial society... it is safe to say that, perhaps with the exception of Ricardo, there has been no more original, no more powerful, and no more acute intellect in the entire history of economic science." This was from an opponent of Socialism, and, when taken into consideration with what other economic writers like Jenks, Thorold Rogers, and Loria had said, quite disproved Mr. de Tunzelmann's statement. Men like Bain, Haeckel, and Spencer were materialists, the statements of the last named in his "Data of Ethics" being rank materialism. If mind remained whilst matter changed, as Mr. de Tunzelmann had stated, then persons whilst passing from childhood to old age had the same mind as they were born with! To talk of mind being independent of matter was absurd. No one ever saw the two apart, or saw mind acting without a body. Many wild and inaccurate statements were made about Marx, who gave a sketch of the materialist conception of history in his preface to "The Critique of Political Economy." Mr. de Tunzelmann disputed Marx's analysis of value and denied that surplus-value came from labour power. That needed examination. All wealth consisted of two elements—the material provided by nature, and the human energy necessary to convert that material into a form suitable for man's use. This was the only source of wealth. If any section existed in society who enjoyed the best of life without doing anything towards its production, obviously they could only do so by robbing the producers. Who were the producers? The working class. You never saw a capitalist going down a mine to dig coal, nor driving an express engine, nor building the tall chimneys, etc. All these things were done by members of the working class, and by them alone. Hence the wealth the capitalist class enjoyed was stolen from the workers.

Mr. de Tunzelmann had waxed very eloquent over the risks the capitalist ran of losing his money, and how he deserved rewarding for this risk. Well, which was more important, inanimate things or animate life? And we had just had an example at Whitehaven, where 137 miners had lost their lives for profit, showing how the workers risked their lives in mine, mill, and factory every day. What was the employers' risk compared to this?

MR. DE TUNZELMANN.

Mr. de Tunzelmann said the contention that mind must be an entity independent of matter was no ground for the absurd conclusion that a man's mind underwent no development during his life-time. Herbert Spencer was not a materialist, neither was Haeckel, and Bain, another authority quoted by Mr. Fitzgerald, was not, in any sense of the word, a first class thinker. Marx claimed that social relations were independent of the will, and that material conditions formed the only factor in social progress. Certainly those conditions formed a factor of fundamental importance, but not the only factor, because, if so, it was equal to saying that the personality of the engineer who changed the face of a country, as, for example, in the case of the Assouan dam, had nothing to do with the result. In regard to

Mr. Fitzgerald's closing remarks he would suggest that it was not necessary for a capitalist to go down a coal mine any more than it was necessary or desirable for a general of the army to lead a cavalry charge. It was not claimed that brain work could do away with hand work, or vice versa, though the prices paid for both could be compared. Yet even then it did not follow that one could be expressed in terms of the other. If the capitalist paid for the direction of his capital, then his share was diminished by the amount so paid; it was not taken from the workers. Mr. de Tunzelmann congratulated his opponent on the skill he had shown in reading lengthy extracts which seemed to have little relevance to the subject, in order to plug up the holes that had been made in Marx's economics.

MR. FITZGERALD.

Mr. Fitzgerald claimed that his opponent had given away his case by admitting in the second speech what he denied in the first, namely, that material conditions were a factor of "great fundamental importance." The case of the engineer who designed the Assouan dam certainly proved nothing to the contrary. This was the "great man" theory that had been demolished by Spencer in his "Study of Sociology." Spencer said the great man was the "resultant of an enormous aggregate of forces that have been co-operating for ages." The engineer was not born with, but acquired, his knowledge during his life, and it was the working class that supplied the things he required in order to live. Moreover, he was dependent upon many others, masons, navvies, and so on, for the construction of the dam, and even he himself was only the servant of the capitalist. The comparison of brain and hand work was going on daily, and if the brain worker received £100 for his work and the hand worker £10 for his, obviously the work of the former was compared to the labour of ten manual workers. Turning to the illustration of the two hauls given in Mr. de Tunzelmann's first speech, Mr. Fitzgerald asserted that this was a misrepresentation, as it merely showed the waste constantly occurring in manufacturing processes which was generally recognised. In fact, in trying to prove that Marx only counted labour in his calculations and omitted the value of raw material, Mr. de Tunzelmann's own examples flatly contradicted him.

MR. DE TUNZELMANN.

In his third speech Mr. de Tunzelmann said all the examples he had given of exchange-value, to which his opponent objected, fulfilled all Marx's conditions. The conclusions drawn were therefore a logical consequence of Marx's theory, and Mr. Fitzgerald would not be able to persuade people of greater intelligence than that possessed of a row of cabbages that this was not so. Mr. Fitzgerald appeared to glorify egotism, which was rather a surprising position for an avowed Socialist to take up. It was well to remember that the capitalist was not paid for providing the worker with work, but for paying him his wages every week, and providing buildings, machinery, etc.

MR. FITZGERALD.

Mr. Fitzgerald pointed out that his opponent still persisted in saying that Marx stated that the economic was the only factor, and that man was determined by his surroundings, and in view of that he would read Marx's own words, which were: "The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society—the real foundation upon which rise legal and political superstructures." Marx also said: "Man makes his own history, but he does not make it out of the whole cloth." On this point, continued Mr. Fitzgerald, he claimed complete victory. Then again, to say that the capitalist provided the workers with buildings, machinery, etc., was, in his opinion, begging the question. Where did the capitalist get them from? He did not produce them. The workers produced them as they produced all wealth. During the debate Mr. de Tunzelmann had not proved the unsoundness of one of Marx's theories. The materialist conception of history was supported by the great thinkers that had been quoted and by the facts of history itself; the theory of "surplus-value" had been proved by the general surplus in production as well as by the details of wages being less than the product; and finally it was apparent that a class struggle must exist where one class held the means of life and enslaved the other.

## PARTY NOTES.

BRANCHES of the Party have been formed at Thornton Heath, Nottingham and Fraserburgh (Scotland), for particulars see Branch Directory.

\* \* \*

Socialists in and around Brighton are asked to communicate with G. Stoner, 31, Southfield Road, Broadwater, Worthing, with a view to forming the Brighton Branch.

\* \* \*

The Worthing comrades are on the warpath. Routing a Tariff Reformer they turned their attention to the local Liberal I.L.P. branch and challenged them to defend the I.L.P. in debate. After lengthy consideration, however, the local I.L.P. champions reply that they consider "no good purpose would be served by having the proposed debate." We think otherwise, however, and repeat our standing challenge to all other political organisations in the country to defend themselves in public debate. Let the working class judge between us.

\* \* \*

During July various sections of the enemy have put forward their champions at Watford, Manchester and Paddington, and as a consequence our Party is stronger and happier than ever. The Anti-Socialist Union is putting forward another victim in North London; for particulars—wait and see.

\* \* \*

A correspondent informs us that toward the end of June at a meeting of the Whitechapel and Stepney Social-Democratic Party addressed by Mr. E. C. Fairchild (London Organiser), the chairman announced that his branch had challenged the S.P.G.B. to debate, but that after accepting the challenge the S.P.G.B. representative had failed to meet his opponent. No one who knew the S.P.G.B. would believe this for a moment, and we now invite the Whitechapel S.D.P. to put forward their champion and to state the time and place most suitable for him to meet our representative in debate; the subject to be "Does the S.D.P. deserve the support of the working class?"

\* \* \*

The Whitechapel S.D.P.ers must have had memories. On August 20th 1909 they wrote asking us to supply them with a lecturer to address their branch on "The Futility of Palliatives." We replied that we would send a speaker to address them on "The S.P.G.B. versus all other Political Parties." They replied (Sept. 2nd, 1909) that they would not allow that subject to be discussed in the branch. We then offered to debate with a representative of their Party at any time. Since then we have had no further communication.

\* \* \*

From various parts come reports of endeavours to counteract the malign influence of the Clarion Vans, whose banners are travelling the country advocating a mysterious blend of Tariff Reform, Free Trade and Municipal ownership. It is suggested that an S.P.G.B. Van should be got. This however means money—still, while the Clarion Van business is in liquidation it might be easy to secure some of them before they are sold for ambulance work in the Blatchford-Beresford German invasion. Anyhow, let us raise the money!

The receipt of a copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

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All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions to the *SOCIALIST STANDARD*, articles of correspondence and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed, The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 10, Sandland Street, London, W.C., to whom Money orders should be made payable.

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## The Socialist Standard,

MONDAY, AUG. 1, 1910.



## A Bombshell.

By the issue of the pamphlet "Socialism and Religion" the Socialist Party of Great Britain provides the event of the day and clearly distinguishes itself from all the hypocritical misleaders of the working class. Prior to the founding of the S.P.G.B. various organisations held the field claiming to know the way of emancipation. But, as in economics and in tactics, not one taught the workers the truth about their position, so as regards religion, all stands except the correct one have been taken. Particularly with the advent of the Labour Party and the wide-spread growth of quasi-Socialist sentimentalism during the past ten years, has regard for the truth in matters of religion declined. Labour leaders have cultivated the friendship of the professional propagandists of superstition. Everywhere we find them prating of how they have attained their "Socialism" through Christianity. Such was, for instance, the burden of Mr. Keir Hardie's lay at the conference of the London Federation of P.S.A. Brotherhoods, although there was a time when he could boast the sturdy but unrepentant secularism of his parents. But times have changed. The confidence of the Liberal and Nonconformist miners and petty tradesmen of Merthyr Tydvyl must not be abused nor their votes alienated. And so everywhere we find interested persons busy reinforcing this trembling bulwark of capitalism, repelling the independent thought of generations, the conclusions of science, in effect inviting the awakening workers to reject fearless, conscientious research and the promptings of the rebellious proletarian mind and to cherish rather their childlike faith and reliance upon their leaders. In a word the influence of the I.L.P. and Labourite teaching on religion makes for subjection and emasculation. The S.D.P. attitude that "it is no concern of ours" is no better. All are prepared to sink principle, truth and the mental vigour of the working class for the sake of popularity and the sweets of office.

Into this welter of humbug the S.P.G.B. throws the gage of battle. Religion in all its forms is a survival from primitive times. Its teachings do not correspond with experience and its perpetuation does but serve the interest of the oppressor. That is the contention of the new pamphlet.

Very essence of the intellectual accumulation of ages its message and challenge shall not be stifled by any conspiracy of silence—the members of the S.P.G.B. will see to that. Neither shall the correctness of its historical and ethnological data, its premises and logical conclusions be gainsaid. We are prepared to discuss the matter in the columns of the *SOCIALIST STANDARD*, for necessarily the work will provoke much discussion and opposition. Meanwhile the revolutionary workers find in "Socialism and Religion" their true expression on this phase of the social problem, and with its aid will spread the light to those yet sitting in darkness.

On with the War?

## The N.E. Blaze.

There are many useful lessons to be learnt from the recent strike on the N.E.Ry. First the spontaneity of the whole business. No violent declaration, no working up to a sticking point by "loud-mouthed agitators," no stupid warning of the enemy by protracted threats marked the brief revolt against intolerable conditions. The Company's officials were so generous, so open-handed, so eager to meet the men—as they must be when a strike of any magnitude comes on them without warning. Railways are the blood vessels of the body economic. A stagnating life-stream is a wonderful promoter of generosity in those dependent upon it. Whatever the causes underlying the upheaval, and despite its brevity, it contrived to earn the highest praise a working-class rising can receive: condemnation by the Labour Party. In this the question of right or wrong was not commented upon. It was sufficient for Barnes & Co. that the men had not foredoomed themselves to failure by consulting their "leaders." "Once bit twice shy" saith the voice of antiquity, and the men's experience of following leaders could hardly be reassuring when they ruminated on the joys that Conciliation Boards had brought them. In view of the fact that this boon was almost entirely the work of "lead-ers" the following admission by one of the n is illuminating:

We object to the tyrannical attitude of the officials in every department in cutting down expenses to the detriment of the working man. We have unanimously decided to demand the withdrawal of the Woodhouse award and the abolition of the Conciliation Board, which we find has worked very detrimentally to us.

## The Suffragist Debate.

The two day's Parliamentary debate on D. J. Shackleton's Parliamentary Franchise (Women) Bill was of considerable interest and we find in it much support for the stand we have taken in opposition to the Women's Suffrage Movement. Winston Churchill showed with great force that its effect would simply be to multiply fagot votes for the wealthy—not that he is so immensely concerned for the political representation of the workers as for the electoral success of the Liberal party. The whole trend of the debate too, showed plainly enough how essentially undemocratic is the spirit of the Women's Suffrage Movement and the measures it proposes, as witness the remarks of Messrs. McLaren and Balfour for and of Mr. Lloyd George against the Bill. The attitude of the latter is curious as compared with his plea for his Pensions Scheme. His excuse for the paucity of this ratepayers' God-send was that one must necessarily begin with a small instalment, but now we are told that the "Women's Bill" is to be condemned because it is a small instalment! The humbug of the whole process was demonstrated when a large majority for the second reading was converted into a large majority for its relegation to the Parliamentary dusthole.

We have no quarrel with the abstract proposal that women should have an equal part with men in the arrangement of the common activities, i.e., politics; but that is a very different matter to advising working women to join a franchise agitation at this time of day. And more than ever is the stupidity of their participation demonstrated in face of such proposals as those of Shackleton, Pankhurst, Snowden and Balfour.

With great regret we have to record the death at the age of 39, of our comrade W. G. Killick. Our deceased comrade was a member of the S.P.G.B. from its inception, having taken a prominent part in the revolt of the so-called impossibilists within the ranks of the S.D.F. (as it then was) previous to the formation of our Party. Of highly artistic temperament and great intellectual capacity, capitalist conditions of life and work proved exceptionally repulsive to him, and, despite a frail physical frame, he was one of the most untiring and devoted fighters in the cause of Socialism. His funeral was attended by many members of the S.P.G.B., and in accordance with his expressed wish he was interred without any religious ceremony but with the simple, heartfelt tributes of comrades who knew his worth. Our sincere sympathy goes out to our late comrade's widow and to his young son, in whom we are sure his father's revolutionary temper will live again.

## THE REVOLUTIONARY PROPOSITION.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

That is the Revolutionary Proposition. It is revolutionary by virtue of what it proposes. Many people, hearing us speak of the revolution, conjure up a picture of armed conflict and carnage. These things, however, can only be a means to an end, not an end in themselves. Our proposition says nothing as to the means. It answers the question "what?" not "how?" It is revolutionary because of the end it proposes, and whether that end be achieved by peaceful means or violent makes no difference to its revolutionary character.

The proposal is to establish a system of society. What then is a system of society?

A modern lexicographer tells us that a system is "an assemblage of things adjusted into a regular whole; a regular method or order; an arranged scheme," and defines society as "a number of persons living in community."

Accordingly a system of society is an arranged scheme or regular method in accordance with which a number of people live in community.

But people live in community at the present time, and it is not to be supposed without some method or order; therefore the essential characteristic of the proposition must lie in its final terms—that the social system is to be based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth.

Common experience teaches us that these means and instruments (the land, factories, railways, mines, machinery, etc.) are private property, therefore present society cannot be based on the common ownership of these things.

It follows from this that the Revolutionary Proposition is destructive as well as constructive, that its proposal to establish is by implication a proposal to disestablish. One system of society is to be overthrown in order that another may be set up in its place.

The thoughtful man, before assenting to so momentous a proceeding as the overthrow of the social system, will demand the weightiest reasons for its condemnation and the fullest assurance that there is a better system to take its place.

The first question then is, why do social systems exist?

Since that which is essential to social systems will appear as surely in the simplest system as in the most complex, and in the former may be most easily discerned, let us turn to one of the earliest social systems we have knowledge of.

In the form of savage society known as the hunting pack, it is obvious that people come together in social relationship to co-operate in the chase and in battle—to get their living together, in short. In all forms of society the primary object which holds people together in community is the need for joint effort in procuring food, clothing and shelter.

The first and most important function of a social system, then, is to facilitate the satisfying of the material needs of its component units, for it is for this reason that, consciously or unconsciously, those units enter into social relations.

Does the present social system fulfil this function? If not, can it be made to do so? If again the answer is in the negative, is there any other system which would fulfil the purpose for which people unite in community?

Material needs are satisfied by material wealth. Statisticians give the amount of wealth annually produced in this country as approximating eighteen hundred million pounds sterling (£1,800,000,000) in value. On the indisputable authority of the census returns the population of the Kingdom is roughly forty millions.

So the ratio of wealth produced per head of the population is about £45 per annum, or, taking the average of families as  $1\frac{1}{2}$  persons, over £200 per family per annum.

There are very few working men indeed whose wages, even were they always fully employed,

amount to half this sum, whilst millions of families have to subsist on an income of one-quarter (or less) of this amount per family.

It must be admitted, then, that material wealth sufficient to adequately (from a working-class view point) satisfy the material needs of the whole of the people is produced under the present social system.

The production of the material wealth, however, is only the first step toward satisfying the material needs of the people. However much wealth exists, it must be accessible to the people before they can satisfy their wants. Is the wealth of capitalist society accessible to those who constitute capitalist society?

Responsible politicians and writers amongst the upholders of the present system, admit that nearly one-third of the population of this country are always on the verge of starvation.

A system which enables the people to produce ample wealth to satisfy, even with a degree of luxury, their material needs, yet leaves a third of them lacking bare necessities, certainly appears not to fulfill its function. The wealth is produced, but the system fails in distribution.

The next question is, can this defect of the social system be rectified? Before we can find the answer to this we must understand why the system of society does not fulfil its function.

All economic wealth is produced by labour. Labour-power applied to nature-provided material, changes the form or position of that material and makes it available and useful to man—turns it into wealth. There is no other source of wealth, therefore all who produce wealth are workers.

When workers have produced wealth what becomes of it? We know that generally the producer has no title to it. He is compelled to leave it in the possession of another, to accept a money payment called wages as the fruits of his toil. Why this is so does not matter at present.

The result, then, of the efforts of those who come together to facilitate the winning of their livelihood is that the wealth produced passes from the possession of those who produce it into the hands of those who do not.

At the end of this process those who produced the wealth are not themselves without wealth, but their's takes the form of money, which they can neither eat nor drink. This money, their wages, however, becomes their sole means of obtaining necessities. It will exchange for them on a basis of value, so that the wealth of society becomes accessible to those who produce it in proportion to the amount of their wages. Obviously, then, the reason the social system breaks down at the point of distribution is because wages are insufficient to secure the necessities of life.

If, then, the social system is to be made to perform its functions, it is necessary, at least, that it shall in the first place afford wages to all who are able and willing to work, and in the second place assure that those wages shall represent the fullest sustenance possible with the means and materials of production to hand.

It is our common experience that a person goes to the factory, mine, or other place of industry, labours, and is paid wages. Between the payer and the receiver of wages there is a transaction which must be actuated by motives. Undoubtedly the worker produces for wages, and by the same token, the non-worker pays wages because the worker produces.

The wages paid have the form of money, and the product of the worker's toil is soon "turned into money" also.

The wages which the non-worker pays out and that to obtain which he pays them, are thus reduced to one and the same thing—he pays money to get money.

It is possible to argue, of course, that though the payment of wages finally results in a return of money to the wage payer, the reason which actuated him was the "altruistic" motive of producing for use. This, however, is disproved by the practice of adulteration. The ingenuity displayed in making soap carry the greatest possible amount of "standing water" adds nothing to the usefulness of the commodity, though it counts in the scales.

As there must be a motive there must be a difference of quantity between the two values—the worker's wages and his product. From the wage-payer's view-point the cycle must be Money—Commodities—Money plus more money, and that final term, the added money, must be the incentive of the wage-payer in paying wages.

Let us call that added money "profit" and see how we stand with the every-day facts of life. We know that every industrial concern of any standing keeps a profit and loss account, and that if such account does not show a profit there is an how-to-do about it, the outlook is considered "very serious," the directors (if it is a company) have to "face the music," and there is a deplorable slump in shares. Let such a state of things continue and we shall be "sacked" and the concern "closed down."

This "profit" and the "added money" which we termed profit are alike in one respect—they are both value added to that invested in the concern, as the result of the operations of that concern. That added value cannot come from nothing. If the concern is a bakery and the value of 50 loaves is expended in flour and other material and a like value in wages, added value can only be shown by the production totaling more than 100 loaves. Human labour alone turns the flour into loaves, hence human labour alone produces the added value called profit.

That which appears as profit in the "profit and loss" account and without which the concern cannot be run, is the same thing which induced the wage-payer to pay wages.

So production is carried on for profit under the present system, and cannot continue when profit ceases to result from it.

We saw that both wages and profit are represented in the product of the worker's labour.

Let us suppose the product to be 150 loaves, of which 50 represent material, and the remainder wages and profit. It is clear that the profit must depend upon the amount of wages, and the more goes to the worker as wages the less is left as profit. Thus if wages equal 75 loaves profit can be only 25 loaves, while if but 25 loaves go to the worker the profit rises to 75.

Since the product of the worker is the object of both the receiver of wages and the taker of profit, they will naturally each endeavour to take as much of that product as they can. How, then, is the relative share of each determined?

If we credit each with being thoroughly greedy—a pretty safe assumption—then each will endeavour to seize the whole of the product. The limitations of each must be, on the one hand the worker must leave some profit or the other will not allow the machinery of production to be put into operation, while on the other hand the worker must be given something or he will not produce. Between these points how is the decision arrived at?

The power to labour can only be created by the consumption of material wealth, therefore a new limitation is set up. Obviously not only must wages be given the worker or he will not work, but they must be sufficient to reproduce his efficiency or he cannot work.

The downward limit of wages, then, is clearly marked, but what prevents them from rising until all profit ceases and production collapses?

In any other market than the labour market the price of commodities or goods is regulated by the relation of supply to demand. If the demand outbalances the supply prices will be high, while if the supply is in excess of the demand prices will run low. Can we apply the argument to labour-power, of which wages are the price?

We know that there exists at all times a redundancy of labour-power in the shape of a vast army of unemployed. These unemployed, in their endeavours to secure work, necessarily depress the price of that which they have to sell—their labour-power.

This unemployed army supplies us with the conditions of the competitive market, wherein prices are regulated by supply and demand.

We see then that production, under the present social system, can only be carried on while profit results, and profit can only result while an unemployed army exists to depress wages.

The defective distribution of wealth cannot be rectified under the present system therefore because in the first place unemployed are necessary to enable production to be carried on at all, and secondly because the competition of the unemployed reduces wages, not to the point of satisfying the needs of the working class, but only of producing and reproducing so many of them as the labour market requires. Hence the present system cannot be made to fulfil its function.

A. E. JACOMB.

[To be Continued.]

## JOTTINGS.

The risks of capitalists have been finely illustrated at the expense of the cinematograph people who shelled out some £30,000 to the principals in and promoter of the recent glove contest in America. One Jeffries essayed to "take up the white man's burden," which in this instance was to prove the superiority of the white over any other human complexion. It was thought a pretty safe calculation that the universal interest in the spectacle of "Mistah Jeff" taking up the white man's burden, would warrant the outlay, but alas! for the "schemes of mice and men," it was forgotten that the same pictures might show the black man helping him to lay it down again. Of course the overlooking of this contingency made all the difference.

\* \* \*

Was it to be supposed that civilisation could stand it? We all know that civilisation is based firstly upon the superiority of the white to the coloured races, and secondly upon the superiority of the capitalist to the ordinary or worker white. But what sort of an effect would these moving pictures have upon the social aspect in Africa, and what tale would they whisper into the ear of young India, and how would they be received on the banks of the Nile, where the burden of the white man's civilisation sits none too lightly on brown backs? The best black man has beaten the best white. The best black is better than the best white. The black is better than the white.

\* \* \*

As Japan snatched the halo of sanctity from the Western brow when she drove the Russian legions before her, so these pictures of the best white man trying and failing to chew all he had bitten off might be taken by the dusky ones the world over as evidence that the miraculous no more belongs to the white skin than to the Western position, and that even the most god-like of white men has a crick in his neck if the axe is put on in the right place—and then goodbye to British misrule in India and Egypt, and farewell to white supremacy in East and West. And then when the worker white made the startling discovery that there was nothing inferior to him he might begin to seriously ask if there is anything superior, and such an inward searching really would place the foundations of our capitalist civilisation in jeopardy.

\* \* \*

And now will anybody put up a purse for the Parliamentary champions of the I.L.P. and the S.D.P.? It need not be a large one for these gentlemen's price is not high. Some time ago Mr. Will Thorne, M.P., raised "hell and Tommy" to get a battleship built on the Thames, and with the assistance of that other good Liberal, Sir John Bethell, M.P., succeeded in steering an order into the offices of a Thames shipbuilding firm. Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., on the other hand (according to the *Manchester Guardian*, July 5) said that five and a half million pounds were to be added to the naval expenditure this year and asked: "Where is this going to end?" He went on: "When will the working class of Great Britain realise that so long as you go on squandering millions upon the navy and the army there is no money left for social reforms?"

\* \* \*

Now here is a pretty kettle of fish! Both Bill Thorne, M.(un)P.(er) and Keir Hardie, M.(un)P.(er) are reformers of the first water, and while the latter cusses over the naval expenditure, the former yells for more. Pitch them a twenty-four foot ring—a twelve-foot—may, a six-foot will better suit their agility, not to say slipperiness—and let them set to.

\* \* \*

At the same meeting where Mr. Hardie gave voice to the words quoted above he also had something to say upon the Conference on the House of Lords question. "It is a matter of no concern of mine," he said, "whether the Conference meets with closed or open doors, but may I say in fairness to the Conference that if there was to be a conference at all it was in the very nature of things bound to be a secret conclave? When-



the Miners' Federation meet the masters to discuss matters in dispute you do not admit the Press, and rightly too."

This, of course, is quite in keeping with the good old I.L.P. tradition. Don't admit the Press, they might tell the "rank and vile," and the "rank and vile" have got to be "b!e!"

## THE WAY OUT.

THE greatest problem before the working class to-day, the problem that requires immediate attention, is poverty. On all hands the existence of poverty amid extreme wealth is admitted. All parties, no matter what their label, admit the existence of this problem and trot out one scheme or another that they claim will alleviate the evil. Before considering remedies, it is necessary to discover the cause of the evil, and having found that, to endeavour to, if possible, abolish the evil by removing the cause.

The first important fact that confronts us in this examination is the fact that poverty is confined to one section of the community, and, strangely enough, to that section which alone produces the w!ter of riches we see around us. We find that it is the brewers of wood and the drawers of water that are poor, while the idle class are rich. Why is it that those who produce wealth in abundance receive but sufficient to keep them alive?

It is not that there is not sufficient wealth in the country to supply the needs of the whole people, for we find it admitted on all hands that that wealth is increasing by leaps and bounds, while at the same time the poverty and misery of the workers increase.

The very fact that men able and willing to produce are unemployed shows that there need be no scarcity of wealth.

There is sufficient for all, but the working class are denied the opportunity of consuming it; nor are they allowed to operate the tools of production in order to produce what they need.

We are forced then to see that members of the working class, while desirous of producing, are prevented from so doing by another class, who own the means of wealth production. This class are thereby enabled to dictate terms to the workers, who are forced to accept them in order to obtain sustenance.

The terms are that they shall create a value far in excess of the amount paid to them in wages. The difference between the value they receive and the value they create is taken by the capitalist as his profit.

This surplus, the result of the robbery of the worker, is piled up by the capitalist, who is unable to consume it fast enough, with the result that sooner or later the markets are glutted and the workers discharged. With the growing productivity of labour we find these periodical gluts recurring with ever greater rapidity. The unemployed army, growing greater and greater, clamouring for a purchaser at almost any price, force down the wages of those employed to the lowest possible level, despite all attempts on the part of the latter to raise them.

The class that produce the wealth are in poverty because that wealth when produced is stolen from them by the capitalist class.

The capitalists are enabled to steal the workers' product because the only means by which they can live.

As we have seen, the working class are compelled to produce more than they receive because they are forced to accept the masters' terms in order to live. Should they endeavour to take those things necessary for their maintenance, or try to use the means of production for themselves, they are faced with the police and, these not sufficing, the military.

The master class control the fighting forces and are prepared to use them to maintain their position. They are enabled to use those forces through their control of the political machine—which they hold by the votes of the class they have robbed. In a word, the continuation of the workers' poverty is due to the fact that they have voted their enemies into power.

What, then, is the remedy? How are the working class to regain that which has been stolen from them? How are they to stop the robbery in future?

Obviously by the removal of the root cause;

the ejection from power of the capitalist class; the control of political power by the working class, in order that they may throw off from their shoulders the class which oppresses them and thereby gain access to the means of wealth production.

This can only be accomplished by the organisation of the working class into a party hostile to their enemy the capitalist class, determined to end capital, capitalist and capitalism.

The capitalist hirelings, led by the "statesman of Labour," John Burns, tell you that the poverty of the worker is due to his thriftlessness and excessive drinking habits. While telling you this they are compelled to publish figures proving that poverty is on the increase while the expenditure on intoxicating liquors decreases year by year.

Despite an increased expenditure of £93,000 on wines (certainly not a working class drink), the total drink bill for 1909 shows a decrease of £5,897,997 compared with that of 1908. Taking into consideration the increase in prices the total decrease in the consumption of liquor amounts to about £11,147,997.

Capitalist statisticians and others, while attributing the greater amount of poverty to drink, are compelled to admit that it is not possible to eradicate the "drink evil" while the housing condition of the workers remains as it is. Drinking habits, they admit are largely due to the vile housing accommodation and the coarse and indigestible food of the workers.

The workers live in the slums and consume bad food because they are poor, so we are brought back again to the original cause, namely, poverty.

The Tory party, in order to get the votes of the working class, bring forward a proposal which they call Tariff Reform. They tell us that a tariff placed upon foreign manufactured goods will keep out foreign competition and at the same time raise, by the tax (upon the goods that are to be kept out), sufficient to enable them to finance measures of social reform.

The Tory leaders, however, have admitted that Tariff Reform will not solve the poverty problem, and a little enquiry into the conditions of the working class in those countries where protection has been established will show that Tariff Reform is no solution.

The Liberal party have been compelled to admit that they have no remedy. Free Trade, they say, is the workers' real protection, whereas under free trade capitalism the workers starve.

Both parties are pledged to support the present system of class ownership and are consequently enemies of the working class.

The Labour Party are pledged to support capitalism through the Liberal party, while in its turn the I.L.P. has sunk its political identity in the Labour Party.

The S.D.F. has all along shown its ignorance of the working-class position. While at times preaching the antagonism of interest existing between the two classes it has constantly blurred the issue by advising the workers to support sections of the master class. It exists merely for the purpose of advocating reforms of the present system, such as State maintenance for school children, the right to work, etc., none of which touches the poverty problem at all. They also have endeavoured to make alliances with the historic enemies of the working class and can be lumped with the other parties as being worthless from the point of view of the worker.

The only party that stands for the entire abolition of capitalism and all that capitalism involves; the only party that has laid down a clear and definite set of principles in accord with economic truths, and stood by them consistently; the only party that aims at, and steadfastly works for, the elimination of the causes that make for poverty, is the Socialist Party of Great Britain. TWEL.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

### RECEIVED—

"Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)  
"Weekly People" (New York).  
"New York Call" (New York)  
"Gaelic American" (New York).  
"Western Wage-Earner" (Vancouver, B.C.)  
"Civil Service Socialist" (London).  
"The New World" (West Ham).

## A LESSON FROM A "WHITE PAPER."

The futility of palliatives, amongst which we must perforce reckon conciliation boards, is strikingly illustrated by the consideration of the Board of Trade White Paper containing the preliminary statement relating to the railways of the United Kingdom for '09. The result of a few of the decisions of the conciliation boards operate in favour of the men, but only on comparatively unimportant questions. By judicious "wangling," ruthless cutting down and agreements between companies, any slight advantage to the men has been more than outweighed, and there is more despotism than ever. The financial results of the year's operations compared with 1908 were as follows:

	1909.	Inc. or decrease.
Passenger receipts	51,198,000	— 467,000
Goods receipts	68,971,000	+ 741,000
Working expenses	75,033,000	— 1,375,000
Net receipts	45,136,000	+ 1,649,000

Maintenance of way, works, etc., cost £260,000 more, but there was a saving of £1,422,000 in locomotive power. Such facts invest the dryest figures with interest. The quantity of minerals and general merchandise conveyed increased by 7,727,000 tons, but the number of train miles declined by 3,035,000.

The lesson here is clear and plain. Any tinkering with conditions of labour, whilst the chain of wage-slavery remains unbroken, can only, if it affects matters at all, result in a tightening up of the links. After all, the bargaining with employers, be it through conciliation boards, deputations, recognition of Union officials or what not, is not progressive. It is only the half-conscious effort of the workman to recover the ground that capitalism ever pushes away from beneath his feet. It is a struggle against retrogression. Only in Socialism do we find the larger hope. Let us, then, abandon trying to patch up a rotten system; let us desist from the futility of endeavouring to make worse more bearable. All such effort is mere resignation to the slave condition. There is far better work to do than to struggle for such crumbs as your leaders lead you on to. When those leaders led you into the "conciliation boards" trap they delivered you, bound hand and foot, into the hands of the masters. We said so at the time and events prove us correct. Join the S.P.G.B., and concentrate on your freedom.

WILFRED.

## BUY 'EM OUT.

THE text for this article is the following abstract from a speech delivered by Mr. P. Snowden in the House of Commons, July 4th, 1910.

Mr. P. Snowden (Lab. Blackburn), speaking as a representative of Socialism, said he was not appalled by the figures of the Budget; on the contrary, he hoped to see the day when the Chancellor of the Exchequer would bring in a Budget for 3 or 4 hundred millions. . . . The Labour Party supported last year's Budget because it was a good beginning. He would not tax landlords out of existence, but would buy them out.

A Unionist Member: Where would you get the money?  
Mr. Snowden: That is a question often put by ignorant men at open meetings. (Laughter.) If they tried to float all the public-houses of the country as a trust with assurance that they would be free from increased taxation there would be no difficulty in obtaining the money. (Labour cheers.)  
Daily Chronicle, 5.7.10.

Mr. Snowden's claim to be a Socialist representative is soon disposed of. His election address and speeches at the last General Election, to say nothing of an analysis of the votes cast for him, amply disprove that claim. Goaded, possibly, by the disaffection in the ranks of the I.L.P., he blossoms out, on occasion, as a "Socialist representative." This is part and parcel of the political game he and his colleagues are playing.

But I wish to deal with his piffle about buying up the land.

How Mr. Snowden and his like can rave to an

## IS SOCIALISM INTERNATIONAL?

It is interesting, and also somewhat amusing, to occasionally take note of the more prevalent objections to Socialism, and to compare present-day objections with those that did duty, in lieu of argument, but a short time ago. From such a survey one can see that there has been quite an evolution of ideas in anti-Socialist circles. Commencing with the cries of "sharing out" and "equal division," we pass en route many other equally brilliant and smashing points against Socialism. But Socialism, with that cruel perversity which seems inherent within it, refused to be smashed, and has continued to thrive and develop in spite of the procession of fallacious pleas with which it has been assailed. In consequence of this these weapons have fallen more or less into disuse, have been allowed to rust, as it were, in the anti-Socialist armoury. In fact, the Socialists seemed to take a delight in knocking to pieces the case of the most painstaking opponent.

Beaten from pillar to post, the gentlemen whose interest lies in obscuring the issue sought refuge for awhile in what they termed the frailty of human nature. Socialism, which before was so bad, now became too pure, too noble, for sinful man. Human nature was an indefinable something possessed by everybody, and all the agencies from the Church upward which have for their object the changing of human nature were in consequence on the wrong track. But the facts of the situation were once more against them: the changes which have taken place in mankind's nature, corresponding with the changes in Society's manner of getting a living, prove this view as untenable as it is absurd.

And now a strange thing happened. Driven desperate by their failure to arrest the progress of the Socialist idea, our opponents affirmed what previously they had shunned like a plague—the international character of Socialism. We are now informed, with scornful lip and an air of triumphant originality, that Socialism is international and is therefore impossible of realisation.

I want, first of all, to congratulate the anti-Socialists upon the correctness of their premise. Socialism is international. For years we have affirmed it, argued it against the very people who now put it forward as a proof of its impracticability. We claim above everything else that Socialism is scientific. It is no mere Utopian dream, but is the direct and inevitable outcome of the present conditions of life and labour, as, indeed, every social system is the outcome of the one that preceded it. In the middle ages the handicraftsman and the small peasant proprietor, with the simple, individual tools and implements of production, used to produce wealth and individually own and enjoy what their energy had called into being. In such circumstances the scientific Socialist conception of society could not arise. But with the development of industry and the introduction of machinery, an industrial revolution took place, with the result that production to-day is no longer individual, but is collective or social.

This state of affairs is not confined to England—for social systems are not, and cannot be, kept within national boundaries—but is widespread over the globe. While, however, the method of producing wealth all over the civilised world, has undergone a change from individual to social production, yet we find the ownership of the wealth when produced still remains individual. This contradiction, this grotesque social absurdity, lies at the root of all the trouble in modern society. It gives rise to the class antagonism which obtains to-day, and which the Socialist alone can trace unerringly to this division of interest between the class who possess and the class who produce.

In every country under the domination of capital the simple facts of the situation are driving the workers to see the cause of the trouble, and are forcing them to an understanding of the remedy. Wherever capitalism is, Socialism accompanies it like a shadow. When Japan leapt into the front rank of capitalism ideas of Socialism began to spread in that country—to the dismay of the ruling class, who in vain attempted to suppress them.

In glancing through history we can see that

even in the capitalist uprising against feudalism there were independent outbursts of the forerunners of the modern working class, then in process of development. We had, for instance at the German Reformation and the Peasant's War, the Anabaptists and Thomas Munzer; in the great English Cromwellian revolt, the Levellers; in the French Revolution, Babeu, and his followers—all of which shows how the various countries develop along similar lines and how industrial conditions fashion the thoughts of men and drive their energies into the same channels irrespective of difference of nationality.

If this was the case in earlier times how much more will it hold good under our present commercial system. We have an example to-day in the struggle which is going on in India, Egypt, Turkey, Persia, etc. for constitutional Government such as industrial conditions have rendered necessary elsewhere. Every day capitalism is becoming more interlaced and interwoven. Ancient trade restrictions, national barriers and frontiers all go down before the steady march of the cosmopolitan profitmongers. Financial crises, like that experienced in America recently, have far-reaching and disastrous effects upon the markets of the world, just as the disorder of one human organ affects the whole body.

The idea, then, of chopping off bits of society and establishing Socialism in this hole and corner fashion is one which will not bear investigation. Either capitalism will survive and the ill-fated and premature attempt at working class supremacy will be crushed—like the Paris Commune—or the working class will be the victors, the Social Revolution will be accomplished, and capitalism will disappear.

Each country, too, is now engaged in the scramble for foreign markets, so that the tendency is for the mental and physical standard of the world's workers to arrive at a common level, viz., that which enables them to produce as efficiently and as cheaply as possible, in an endeavour to undersell their competitors in the world market. Just as in each country competition among the masters forces the workers of that country down to a "dull and dead level," so competition among nations has the same result internationally. This means that with the conditions of life and the education of the world's workers being almost identical and becoming ever more so, their capacity for understanding Socialism and their progress towards it will be at about the same rate in every country under the highly centralised thraldom of capital. This furnishes a complete answer to those who prophesy that one country will be ready for the change before the others. To-day in all countries the workers are beginning to cast off the ancient and worm-eaten ideas of social reform, and are and are delving deep into the mechanism of capitalism, and in consequence are grasping the essentials of Socialism, of which, once they have secured a firm grip, they will never let go.

While we can admit that just as, to-day, there are places on the fringe of civilisation which capitalism has not defiled, and where remnants of past societies still linger, so under Socialism these remote places may still pursue their time-honoured customs; yet we know that capitalist society is doomed, that the whole of its rotten social fabric will go down before the inexorable march of progress. The future lies with us, the past belongs to our enemies. They depend for their success upon the ever-diminishing working-class ignorance; we depend for ours upon the increasing working-class knowledge.

Based as our beliefs are, upon knowledge and investigation, we can afford to smile at those who wish to substitute for Socialism—international and revolutionary—that takes its stand upon the class war, a special brand suited to insular tastes and prejudices, and warranted of English manufacture. Alluring as the electoral successes won by this kind of trickery may appear, they offer nothing substantial to the workers—they merely spell wasted energy and time lost to those who are beguiled by them.

We are not out to build up fantastic theories but to correctly interpret the trend of industrial development and to embody the essence of that research in our principles—which govern our actions—to the end that the working class of this country shall be ready to take their part in freeing society once for all of class domination.

R. F.



# S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR AUGUST.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	7th.	14th.	21st.	28th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30 A. Barker	J. E. Roe	H. Newman	H. Joy
" "	7.30 F. W. Stearn	H. Martin	A. Reginald	J. Roe
Brockwell Park	6.30 H. Joy	A. Barker	H. Martin	A. Reginald
Edmonton, the Green	8.0 A. Anderson	T. W. Allen	H. Joy	H. Newman
Finsbury Park	3.30 A. Anderson	F. Dawkins	H. Joy	H. Newman
Forest Gate, Sebert Rd.	11.30 A. Jacobs	H. King	R. Fox	A. Jacobs
Fulham Cross, Dawes-rd.	" J. Roe	J. Halls	H. Martin	A. Barker
Kennington Triangle	11.30 R. Fox	H. Martin	J. Roe	F. Leigh
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30 H. King	F. Dawkins	J. Halls	H. King
" "	7.30 A. Jacobs	H. King	A. Jacobs	R. Fox
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30 J. Halls	F. Leigh	H. King	J. Halls
Parliament Hill	6.0 T. W. Allen	H. Newman	J. Roe	J. Kelly
Peckham Triangle	7.0 J. E. Roe	H. Joy	H. Newman	A. Barker
Stoke Newington, Ridley Rd., Dalston.	11.30 T. W. Allen	D. Fisher	J. Kelly	F. Stearn
Tooting Broadway	" H. Joy	H. Newman	A. Barker	H. Martin
" "	7.30 A. Barker	J. E. Roe	J. Kemble	H. Joy
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	11.30 A. Pearson	H. Joy	F. W. Stearn	J. Kelly
" "	7.30 H. Martin	A. Anderson	T. W. Allen	A. Anderson
Walthamstow, Hoe-st. Stn.	8.0 A. W. Pearson	A. Jacobs	R. Fox	H. King
Wandsworth, Buckhold Road	" J. Kemble	F. Leigh	A. Barker	H. Martin
Watford Market Place	" F. Leigh	R. Fox	F. Leigh	F. W. Stearn
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30 D. Fisher.	J. Kelly	A. Jacobs	D. Fisher
" "	7.30 R. Fox	F. W. Stearn	J. Kelly	R. Fox
Woolwich, Beresford-sq.	11.30 H. Martin	T. W. Allen	H. Newman	A. Anderson

## MONDAYS.

Islington, Highbury Cnr. 8.30

TUESDAYS.—Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m.

WEDNESDAYS.—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Walham Green, Church, 8. Plaistow, Greengate, 8 Peck-

ham Triangle 8.30. Stoke Newington, Hoxton Church, 8.30.

THURSDAYS.—Battersea, Princes Head, 8.0. Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Earlsfield-rd., 8.

FRIDAYS.—Paddington, Kensal Rise, Mortimer road, 8.15. Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, St. Loy's

rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30. Ilford, Seven King's Station, 8.

SATURDAYS.—Earlsfield, Magdalene Road, 7 p.m. Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m.

East Ham, Ruskin Avenue, 8. Streatham, Fountain, 8 p.m.

## SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

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Fulledge, Burnley. Branch meets every

Sunday at 11 a.m. at above address.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the

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be sent to the General Secretary.

EARLSFIELD.—R. B. Goodwin, Sec., 49, Plough-la.,

Wimbledon. Branch meets Sats., 29, Thorn-

sett-rd at 8.30. Rooms open every evening.

EAST HAM.—Communications to Sec., 421, High-st.

North, East Ham, where Branch meets alter-

nate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.

EDMONTON.—Sidney Auty, Sec. 60, Gilpin Grove,

Edmonton. Branch meets Wednesdays 8.30.

FRAZERBURGH.—H. J. Whipp, Sec., 53, Broad-st.,

Frazerburgh.

FULHAM.—E. Waller, Secretary, 45, Warple Way,

Wandsworth, S.W. Branch meets alternate

Fridays at 8 p.m. at Ingram's Coffee Rooms,

Fulham Cross.

ISLINGTON.—Communications to Secy. Branch

meets every Wed. at 8 at 144, Seven Sisters-

rd. Holloway, N.

LAMBETH.—W. McCartney, Sec., 37, Morecombe-

st, York-st., Walworth-rd., S.E. Branch meets

Mondays 8.30 p.m., at 66 Walworth-rd.

MANCHESTER.—T. McCarthy, Sec., 151, Mill-st.,

Great Ancoats-st., Manchester. Branch meets

1st and 3rd Fridays at 8 p.m. at County Forum,

Cromford-court.

NOTTINGHAM.—Communications to Secretary, 4,

Ballour-road, Nottingham.

PADDINGTON.—B. Carthurs, Sec., 33, Walerton-

rd., Maida Hill, W. Branch meets Thurs. 8.30

p.m., at 14, Gt. Western-rd., Harrow-rd., W.

Educational classes every Wed. at 8.30.

PECKHAM.—J. Benford, Sec., 38, Kimberley-rd.,

Nunhead. Branch meets every Fri. at 8.30

at 21, Nunhead Lane, Peckham.

ROMFORD DIVISION.—All communications to

branch Secretary, 27, York-rd., Ilford where

Branch meets Sundays, 8 p.m.

STOKE NEWINGTON.—S. Quelch, Sec., 152, High-

st, Shoreditch, E.C. Branch meets 1st and

3rd Mon., 8 p.m. at 2, Dalston Lane.

THORNTON HEATH.—P. G. Barker, Sec., 7 Cor-

poration-rd., Woodside, Croydon.

TOOTING.—H. Wallis, Sec., 111, Sellingcourt Rd.,

Tooting. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30, at

Goringe Dining Rooms, Tooting Junction.

TOTTENHAM.—Sec., 2 Caistor, 8 Colsterworth-rd.,

High rd., Tottenham. Branch meets Mondays

at 8 p.m., at High Cross Institute, 314 High-rd.

WALTHAMSTOW.—H. Crump, Sec., 244, Forest-rd.,

Walthamstow. Branch meets at the Pioneer

Institute, 182 Hoe-st., every Monday at 8.30.

WATFORD.—G. Glen, Sec., 4, Marlborough Road,

Branch meets every Thursday at 8 p.m.

WEST HAM.—Communications to Secretary. Branch

meets Mondays 7.30, at Boleyn Dining Rooms,

459, Green Street, Upton Park.

WOOLWICH.—G. Ayres, Sec., 452 Woolwich Road,

Charlton. Branch meets alternate Weds. at 8

at Todd's Dining Rooms, Beresford Square.

WOOD GREEN.—W. C. Mathews, Sec., 6, Gladstone

Avenue, Wood Green, N. Branch meets

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## THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

### OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society  
based upon the common ownership and demo-  
cratic control of the means and instruments  
for producing and distributing wealth and  
in the interest of the whole community.

## Declaration of Principles

### THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

#### HOLDS

That society as at present constituted is  
based upon the ownership of the means of living  
(i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capit-  
alist or master-class, and the consequent enslave-  
ment of the working-class, by whose labour  
alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antag-  
onism of interests, manifesting itself as a class  
struggle, between those who possess but do not  
produce, and those who produce but do not  
possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only  
by the emancipation of the working-class from  
the domination of the master-class, by the con-  
version into the common property of society of  
the means of production and distribution, and  
their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the  
working-class is the last class to achieve its free-  
dom, the emancipation of the working-class will  
involve the emancipation of all mankind without  
distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of  
the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, includ-  
ing the armed forces of the nation, exists only to  
conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of  
the wealth taken from the workers, the working-  
class must organise consciously and politically  
for the conquest of the powers of government,  
national and local, in order that this machinery,  
including these forces, may be converted from  
an instrument of oppression into the agent of  
emancipation and the overthrow of privilege,  
aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the ex-  
pression of class interests, and as the interest of  
the working-class is diametrically opposed to  
the interests of all sections of the master-class,  
the party seeking working-class emancipation  
must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, there-  
fore, enters the field of political action deter-  
mined to wage war against all other political  
parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly  
capitalist, and calls upon the members of the  
working-class of this country to muster under  
its banner to the end that a speedy termination  
may be wrought to the system which deprives  
them of the fruits of their labour, and that  
poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to  
equality, and slavery to freedom.

### 'APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

To the Secretary,

.....Branch, S.P.G.B.

I hereby declare my adhesion to the above  
principles, and request enrolment as member  
of The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

Signature.....

Address.....

.....

.....

Date.....

SPECIAL NOTE.—This form cannot be accepted, if de-  
tached from Declaration printed above. The  
complete column must be handed to branch Sec.



THE  
**SOCIALIST**  
**STANDARD**

The Official Organ of the Socialist Party of Great Britain.

No. 73. Vol. 7.]

LONDON, SEPTEMBER 1910.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

## PROGRESS AND CRIME IN INDIA.

### OFFICIAL REPORT BEARS US OUT.

A PERUSAL of the following, the data for which have been culled from a "Statement exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India during the Year 1908-9," issued by order of the House of Commons, should, it is hoped, do something towards enlightening our readers as to working-class conditions obtaining in British India.

Reading between the lines of this official document, it is apparent that the India Office is chiefly concerned in endeavouring to hide away in its dusty archives the facts relating to the real position of the native agricultural and industrial workers. Seemingly, however, the truth will out even in a Government publication, and the truth, in this instance, will be found far from palatable, at any rate to those whose minds have been cleared of racial prejudice and the bastard patriotism so prevalent to-day.

The following is taken from page 56 of the Report, "Inspection of Mines":

"The number of mines of all kinds coming under the Act (The Indian Mines Act, 1901) in 1908 was 1,062. . . . They gave employment to an average daily number of 164,201 persons (an increase of 8 per cent. in the year), of whom 103,322 were men, 54,518 women, and 6,461 children under twelve years old; 102,451 persons worked underground."

"There were 135 fatal accidents, causing 194 deaths, during the year 1908, an increase of 72 over the deaths in 1907. The increase is chiefly due to the expansion and activity of the coal industry and to the increasingly difficult and dangerous conditions of mining work. Of the fatal accidents, 165 occurred in coal mines. Accidents in coal mining would probably be more numerous than now (1.37 per 1,000 workers) but for the fact that the workings are generally free from gas, very shallow, and not elaborate."

In the section "Factory Inspection" it is to be noticed that one of the laws passed decreed the raising of the minimum age for child labourers from 7 to 9 years, and another the forbidding of the working of children more than 7 hours per day. What benevolence on the part of the factory legislators! Only 7 hours work per day for children of nine years of age! As the next paragraph shows, however, the laws relating to the working of children are broken with impunity. Is this why they are passed? On page 114 with regard to plague in India we read:

**Suffer Little Children.** "It is now generally agreed: (1) That bubonic plague is spread by infected rats; (2) that the vehicle of contagion between rat and rat and between rat and man is the rat flea."

In India it has presumably been ordained by a dispensation of capitalistic Providence that rats and men shall dwell harmoniously together, sharing the same rat-flea between them—a state of affairs which even the working class in Britain, who do not usually cavil very much at their housing accommodation, would possibly object to.

In the light of the foregoing, it is interesting to notice that "income tax receipts have increased with the increase in profits and salaries resulting from commercial and industrial activity" to £1,553,419 in 1908-9 as compared with £1,504,113 in 1907-8.

Perhaps the most significant section of the "statement" from a Socialist standpoint is that devoted to "Crime and Police." The Socialist contends that the material conditions in which an individual lives and by which he is surrounded determine the predominant features of his individual character, and that therefore a bad and degrading social environment must inevitably engender bad and degraded social units. This contention is certainly upheld by the Report under notice. We read:

"Madras. The season was generally unfavourable, and scarcity prevailed almost throughout the Madras Presidency. The prices of food grains, excessive at the end of 1907, rose still higher in 1908; and, in consequence, there was a marked increase in crime. The total number of true cases of cognisable crime (cognisable offences are those for which the police can arrest without a warrant) rose from 47,500 to 50,047. . . . Property lost during the year was valued at £110,533, of which 27.3 per cent. was recovered."

"Bombay. In Bombay the total number of cognisable cases reported during the year rose to 33,646, there being increases under all heads of offences, except cattle theft. . . . The value of property stolen during the year, in connection with cognisable crime, was estimated at £113,352, a large increase for the figures during 1907."

"Bengal. As regards ordinary crime, there was an increase of 8 per cent. in the number of cognisable offences. The whole of this increase occurred under the heads of burglary and theft, and is to be attributed principally to the high price of food."

"United Provinces. The famine, which lasted during the greater part of the year under review, naturally affected the returns of crimes in the United Provinces. The volume of reported offences increased by 5.5 per cent. on the corresponding figure for 1907, and amounted to 195,697 cases. . . . there were increases in the number of robberies, burglaries, ordinary thefts, and cattle thefts."

"Punjab. Burglaries increased from 12,087 to 73,700; and cases of cattle theft by 299. In Eastern Bengal and Assam ordinary crime

is reported to have remained about stationary. Central Provinces and Berar. In the Central Provinces and Berar there was an increase in the total volume of crime, which may be attributed in part to the failure of the crops in the north of the Provinces, and the subsequent general high range of prices."

"Burma. The outstanding fact of the year under review in Burma was a substantial increase of crime."

"North-West Frontier Province. The year under review in the North-West Frontier Province showed a great increase in violent crime, to be attributed to the unsettled state of the border and to the higher prices which ruled throughout the year."

In Coorg the number of offences were reported as being normal.

In all the above-named provinces (except Coorg) where not actually stated that high prices and scarcity of food conducted to the increase in crime, it is shown by a perusal of other sections of the Report that such high prices and scarcity did actually prevail, generally to a very large extent.

The conclusion may be drawn, therefore, from the facts supplied by the Government of India, that a decrease in the standard of living brings with it an increase in criminal offences, and that such offences as robbery, burglary and theft are the outcome of the fierce and ever-intensified struggle for existence prevailing in present-day society.

This conclusion is, of course, quite in accord with the views which have been constantly and consistently put before readers in the SOCIALIST STANDARD, during the past six years.

The foregoing are the most salient features of "a Statement prepared from detailed reports from each Presidency and District in India, in such form as shall best exhibit the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India in each such Presidency." (So it is naively described in the preface.)

The India Office has apparently come to the conclusion that the best form in which the "Moral and Material Progress of India" can be exhibited is by the compilation of facts showing the moral and material deterioration of the native working class. It would seem, indeed, that from the India Office standpoint, moral and material conditions, progress, like the crab, by going backwards, Truly, the bourgeois method of reasoning passes the wit and understanding of an ordinary mortal.

**The Logical Conclusion.** The receipt of a copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.



## THE REVOLUTIONARY PROPOSITION.

(Continued.)

As the present social system does not, and cannot be made to, fulfil its function, since its very continuance depends upon the poverty of a large number of the people comprising it, the Revolutionary Proposition is supported by reason in advancing a substitute. Let us now examine that projected alternative social system.

The system of society which it is proposed to establish is to be based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth, by and in the interest of the whole community.

That is the whole proposal. The proposition tells us nothing more, hence all the essential difference between the system which is to be displaced and the one which is to displace it is contained in those words.

The means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth, we have already seen, are the land, factories, railways, machinery and so forth. Common ownership means, not what many think—individual ownership on a basis of equality (involving sharing out)—but ownership by the whole community as a body. In such circumstances no person can have any right of possession, apart from his fellows, in any of the things necessary for the production and distribution of the community's wealth.

Democratic control means control by the whole people, but as it will presently appear that such control is not part of the basis of society, but arises from that basis, we may ignore it for the present.

If the property condition is the basis of society, then a different form of society will arise from the different property condition. The essence of the Revolutionary Proposition is the establishment of society upon a basis of common ownership. How, then, does this differ from the present social basis?

Perhaps the most wide-spread relations between persons under the present system are the relations of employer and employed. To one or other of these classes almost all persons belong. If we desire to find out why these categories exist, why one great army of people are employers and another great section are employed, we must first discover what it is that all the persons in each class possess or lack in common, yet not in common with the other class.

It cannot be any physical, mental or moral equipment, for no physical, mental or moral quality is either peculiar to or common to either class in society. There are strong men, handsome men, clever men, brave men, scrupulous men in both classes, while not all in either class are strong or handsome or clever or brave or scrupulous. One thing, however, the employing class do possess in common—the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth.

Some share in the possession or control of the land, railways, factories, machinery and the like characterises the members of the master class, and distinguishes them from the members of the working class.

There is nothing else common to the workers and peculiar to them but this propertyless condition. There is nothing else common to the masters and peculiar to them but this propertied condition. This private property condition, then, must make them what they are; must be the basis from which arise the relations of "master and man."

To reverse the process of enquiry, if one class in society hold all the means of producing wealth they have coercive power over the class which does not possess, and can, if they are secure in their power, force the latter either to surrender their labour-power in return for the means of subsistence or to starve. In surrendering their labour-power they become wage-workers and at the same time institute the wages system and the wage-labour market. Thus we arrive at the same conclusion, that wage-slavery, the wage-labour market, production for profit, together with all the relations between employer and employed, and all the miseries of unemployment and overemployment, poverty and anxiety, attendant upon the working-class position, arise

from the private ownership of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth.

To say that it is this property condition which divides society into two classes—employers and employed—and makes the one class to live upon the labour of the other, is, without going any further, to declare that that property condition is the basis of the social system.

We find that the difference between the two social systems is that one is based upon private and the other upon common ownership of the means of wealth production and distribution. What effect will the altered property basis have upon wealth production and distribution becomes the next question.

With the abolition of private property in the means of living, that which made some men masters will have passed out of their hands, and since they can no longer stand between others and the machinery of production they can no longer take toll of those who labour. There is nothing left them then but to live by their own labour—hence in the first place there is an increased number of producers with the same population.

The present system necessitates a large unemployed army in order to depress wages and assure profit, but under the new conditions no class stands between them and the sources of wealth, therefore society has a further vast increase in the number of active producers.

The great wealth of the present master class enables them to surround themselves with servants and flunkies who add nothing to the wealth of society. The dispossession of the propertied class makes it impossible for them to support these hordes of retainers, and at once there is another great source of labour available for the creation of society's wealth.

The throwing of these—the present idle rich, the flunkies and lackeys with whom they surround themselves, and the unemployed whom they keep from labour—into active production renders society's power of wealth creation much greater than under present conditions.

The distribution of wealth will undergo an even greater change. Under the present system the inequality of possession in the productive wealth translates itself into inequality in the distribution of the wealth produced. But in a social system in which all rights of property in the means of production are alienated from the individual and vested in the community, the result must be economic equality. As the dispossessed master class cease to be a master class, so the workers, having no obstacle between them and the means of livelihood, cease to be a subservient class and a class apart. All the conditions which force men to sell their labour-power having disappeared, they surrender that labour-power now only to society. Wage workers disappear because no person is driven to sell his energy. The labour market and the wages system vanish, for there is none to buy labour-power and none to sell it. The wealth which is produced can have no other owners than those who produce it—the whole community.

Therefore the basis of distribution must be equality, each claiming and receiving by virtue of having taken part in the labour of production. The breakdown in distribution which we notice in the present social system, would thus be corrected by altering the property basis of the social system.

Socialists are often asked to foreshadow in detail the social order that will result from the realisation of the Revolutionary Proposition, and meet with disapproval when they, very wisely, refuse. The changes which have here been outlined are indicated by scientific deduction, and permit of no denial at this time of day. The cause of the class division of society, of the wages system and all its attendant evils, of production for profit and its concomitant unemployment—is too well known to be private property in the productive wealth for any dispute of the point to hold serious attention. Those changes on the economic plane which it has been stated must necessarily follow the abolition of private property in the means of life—the disappearance of the labour market and the wage-slave, the breakdown of the system of production for profit, the end of the class distinction of employer and employee—after all affect by far the greatest and most important

portion of the conditions of human existence, for all happiness and well-being must be based upon material conditions.

Many other changes, of course, must of necessity accompany the change of the social basis. As every institution under the present social system is eminently adapted to the private property basis upon which the system rests, so must each of those institutions adapt itself to the new basis of communal ownership when such is established.

Thus the present marriage institution, with its cash nexus, its so-called parental responsibility—all well calculated to bind a woman to her husband (inclination or disinclination apart) since to him only can she look for the support of her children, and perhaps of herself, and a husband and father to the workshop or factory—this institution must adapt itself to the altered circumstances. To what extent this is no place to prognosticate, but on this point there is no element of speculation; our knowledge is positive—the cash tie will be eliminated. From this point the reader is as well able to forecast as the writer, but this may be said—as the common property basis of society is a higher one than that of private property, so all social institutions must adjust themselves on a higher plane in accord with the social base.

A. E. JACOMB.

[To be Continued.]

## POT POURRI.

Strange that the following should have found its way into my letter-box:

Board of Trade Labour Exchanges,  
Clapham Junction  
District Branch,  
33-35, St. John's Hill, S.W.  
16th July, 1910.

Dear Sir,—There are vacancies on a railway for holiday pressure for porters—no wages—unemployed (sic) supplied and you have to rely on tips for remuneration, should you care to entertain such a job please present the enclosed addressed envelope on Monday at Walham Green Labour Exchange at 8.30 a.m.

There is held out to those suitable chances of a permanency.

Yours faithfully,  
(Signed) \_\_\_\_\_  
Manager.

An expectant applicant has evidently misdirected his envelope, for amongst our correspondence we find the following:

Brixton, S.W.  
18.7.1910.

Dear Sir,—Your letter of the 16th addressed to Billy Muggins has been handed to me and I hasten to apply for the position of porter—no remuneration allowed, rely on tips, etc.

I shall be 28 next birthday, weigh 14 stone, am six feet high, and can lift a couple of hundredweight at a pinch. Should prefer not to work more than twenty hours out of twenty-four and before definitely accepting the job must ask to be exempted from fines of any description. Please let me know if I am permitted to retain the uniform without leaving a deposit as security when absent for my four hours rest, and state also if any charge is made for the permanent positions.

If in the opinion of the Company an insufficient return was rendered for the munificent remuneration offered, I should be quite prepared to forego one half of my salary at the end of the week.

I take it that not more than 25 per cent. of the tips received is demanded by the Company as commission on the introductions.

Yours faithfully,  
N. Y. Z.

\* \* \*

"For Mission Work in India: Wanted for 3 years or longer, foreman, total abstainer, mod. salary, with good practical knowledge of weaving in cotton, wool, silk. Also wanted some

single women acquainted with hand-loom weaving and silk reeling. Write, etc., etc."  
*Daily Mail*, 8.6.10.

Note the "mission" work and what it accomplishes. Enquiring of a holy friar, recently, whether the Edinboro Missionary Conference was limited to ministers, missionaries, and lay workers, the present writer was informed that such was not the case, for a number of merchants, manufacturers and traders interested in "mission work" would be present. Observe the skinny arm of Capitalism beneath the vestment of the priest.

\* \* \*

The joke of the moment is furnished by that well-known humorous journal, the *Daily Express*. Tariff Reform has meant a variety of things since it was dragged out of its early nineteenth century cupboard and dangled before a deluded electorate, but for the moment we are informed it spells "Industrial Peace." And yet the adjoining column is headed in large type:

"LABOUR WARS THREATENED."  
"INDUSTRIAL UNREST PREVALENT ALL OVER EUROPE."

Funny, isn't it? The Continental worker who revels in the joy of living under tariffs is evidently unappreciative. Perhaps the sensations of starving under Tariff Reform differ but little from a lack of food under Free Trade.

\* \* \*

W. H. Mallock, contortor of truth, clumsy botcher of figures, apologist for prostitution and poverty, etc. *ad nauseum*, has written another book—"The Nation as a Business Firm." Mr. Mallock is one of the men who may expect a boost up when the Tories go in next time. He has posed as a demolisher of the cheap, unstable rubbish of Karl Marx, chiefly by the antique dodge of attributing false statements to the authority attacked. His efforts so far have only illustrated the bankruptcy of capitalism and of its apologists. The general reader will doubtless ascribe our estimate of him to bias, but let us see how he stands with his brother apologist in the Liberal camp.

In the *Daily News* of 17th August Mr. Chiozza Money takes him to task thuswise:

"Incidentally he (Mr. Mallock) criticised some estimates of the national dividend which had been made by Mr. Bowley and the present writer," but in reply they "were easily able to show that Mr. Mallock was ignorant of the most essential documents and facts pertaining to his subject matter, and that his essay in statistics was ridiculous in the extreme. We showed, amongst other things, that Mr. Mallock was not even aware of the existence of the Inland Revenue Reports, and that he blamed officials for not publishing figures which are actually published and well known to all moderately informed persons."

Mr. Money further characterises his work as "mere guesswork," and suggests that after the terrible trouncing he received in the May No. of the *Nineteenth Century* he should have "had the courage to withdraw his book and seriously to reconsider his extraordinary statements and alleged statistics." So much for capitalism's High Priest.

\* \* \*

I notice that the so-called Labour Party are beginning to feel the pinch of the Osborne judgment, which prevents the use of Trade Union funds for political purposes. If what the *Clarion*, *Labour Leader*, *Justice* and other reform rags have said be true, this is altogether unaccountable. Have not the sheets mentioned assured us with mighty brayings and trumpets, that the birth of the Labour Party marked a new era in politics, that Labour at last was coming into its own; that Labour, tired of the old parties, sick and wearied of the eternal platitudes of the "duplicate lie," had at last turned its face to the rising sun of emancipation, and was marching for the dawn of liberty, or somewhere thereabouts? And yet a trivial affair like the Osborne case has flattened them out like an exploded air-ball. If the members of the Labour Party were in Parliament as the result of a class-conscious movement, if they had SOCIALISTS behind them, the Osborne judgment would have been a tower of strength to

them. But they are not a Socialist Party; no Socialists stand behind them—they have got in by trickery, fraud, and deception. Hence these pricked balloons.  
WILFRED.

## THE SALVATION ARMY AND THE WORKING CLASS.

V.—THE FARM COLONY.

Having now concluded our investigation into the working of Booth's Social Scheme as exemplified by the City Colony and Elevator, we shall now pursue our enquiry further afield and see what has been done by the Army in connection with the "back-to-the-land" swindle.

The second stage in the General's Pilgrim's Progress for the workless was to consist of the "Farm Colony." Our readers will remember that under the scheme as originally outlined in "Darkest England," our old friend the wretched outcast, after being put through his paces in the City Elevator, was to be transferred to the Farm Colony. There he would be taken care of, taught how to work on the land, and be generally made a new man of. This training was intended to fit him for work in the Colonies, to which it was proposed in due course to transplant him.

At present the Army has only one Farm Colony in England—that at Hadleigh in Essex. It consists of 2,000 acres of land.\* General Booth's idea was that this area would be capable of supporting from 6,000 to 9,000 people.

The total population of the colony, including the officials and their families, as well as paid hands, does not usually exceed 500. If we take half this number to represent "out of works," we shall probably be near the mark.

As usual, with a monotony that becomes deadly the more we enquire, there is a vast difference between promise and performance.

Mr. F. A. McKenzie, in his book "Waste Humanity," tells us what is being done at Hadleigh.

"The land is cultivated on orthodox lines: a working Essex farmer superintends that side of it; the disposal of the crops is managed very shrewdly and the whole thing is sensibly, soundly, and efficiently done."

"Work such as this at Hadleigh is sometimes exposed to criticism from one quarter. We are told that the Salvation Army, in taking derelicts in this fashion, is helping to reduce the current wages in trade, and is using bad and inefficient labour to compete with and lower the position of the good. If this objection were true it would be a very serious one. But the charge is wholly false. Very few of the men who come to Hadleigh are worth even the value of their food during the first few weeks. In the course of a few months, when they have been made valuable by the training given them, they are passed on automatically to outside work in the Colonies or at home."

Without stopping to criticise at full length the latter part of this apology (this will be dealt with when speaking of emigration) let us, if we can, ask ourselves what the "shrewd" disposal of crops means. Surely they must be sold outside?

Was it a little bird whispered it in our ear, or did some wandering echo borne on the health giving breeze from Southend-on-Sea tell of bitter complaints by tradesmen in that busy port—complaints that they were being under sold by S.A. produce in their own vegetable market? The charge is not wholly false.

According to the evidence given by Colonel Lamb of the Hadleigh Colony (before the Special Committee on the Unemployed of the Clarity Organisation Society 1903-4), it would appear that of all the persons on the colony, one in five is either a Salvation officer or a member of the permanent staff. Further, we are told on this same officer's authority, that out of 700-900 persons passing through the Colony in a year, about 300-400, or some 50 per cent., leave within a month. Why do these hundreds leave so early? In the following digest of facts it is to be found, at any rate, of the answer to this question.

Men are sent to the Hadleigh Colony by the Boards of Guardians and also by those respon-

sible for the Mansion House (unemployed) Fund. In the *War Cry* (Nov. 19, 1904) we were told that: "We received under that Committee (the Mansion House Relief Fund) 100 married men and for their labour on the Colony these men were supplied with board and lodging and 15s. a week."

To those unversed in the wiles of the S.A., it would appear from this statement that the Army paid the men 15s. a week and also gave them board and lodging. As a matter of fact the Army were paid 10s. 6d. per week (from the Mansion House fund) to cover the cost of each man's keep, whilst the money paid to the men's wives (11s. 3d. weekly, not 15s.) also came from the Fund.

What the Salvation Army paid the men in cash was 6d. a week. The men in this case were all picked, the great majority being labourers by trade. In fine, the Army took them in—were paid 10s. 6d. a week per head for doing so—made a handsome profit on their board and lodging,\* and appropriated the entire value of their labour, minus only the beggarly sum of 6d. a week.

And even if the Salvation Army do succeed in isolated cases in reinstating individual in the active labour market (as is possible), these individuals must necessarily push others out. As Mr. Manson justly points out, "the employment permanently or quasi-permanently on the truck system of a certain number of men who ought no longer stand in need of the Army's ministrations is rehabilitation of a nature undesirable in itself, and apt to be productive of economic effects tending to increase the evil which it was the purpose of the Social Scheme to cure."

## VI.—EMIGRATION.

When, in the year 1890, General Booth brought forward his great scheme of emigration, it was promised that only such men and women should be sent out of the country as had been through the hands of the Salvation Army and rendered fit for the colonisation abroad.

The workers were to be "taught all that it was necessary for them to know about the new country," etc. Having raised them from the depths and done all this for them, the scheme was to "pour them forth onto the virgin soils that await their coming in other lands."

In reality the Army has set on foot and is now engaged in booming an immense emigration business, giving its advice, taking passage money, pocketing commission (from steamship and railway companies) and doing exactly what other agencies find it to their interest to do. Of the many thousands who go out annually under the Army's protecting wing, very few have ever been through, or come in contact with, any Army institution at all.

Of the emigrants to Canada by the "Kensington," sailing on April 5th, 1906, Commissioner Cadman said: "In all the 1,300 there is not one prison case—there is not even a Farm Colony case."

Let the unemployed worker, male or female, apply to the S.A. emigration bureau. Very quickly he or she will find that the sole thing required is the ability to pay one's passage money.

In one of the emigration pamphlets issued by the Army we are told that "there are neither free nor assisted passages."

"It is simply criminal," wrote Booth in 1890, "to take a multitude of untrained men and women, and land them penniless and helpless on the fringe of some new continent." (*Darkest England*, page 75.)

The Salvation Army earns commission from the steamer companies. Not only that, but it receives a grant of £1 per head from the Canadian Government for agriculturists. It does not, therefore, surprise us to learn that, according to the *Toronto Globe* (Feb. 18th, 1907) Mr. Oliver, Minister of the Interior, stated in the Canadian Parliament that the Government not only made the Army a grant to aid the work of distributing its emigrants, and assisted in paying the rental of its emigration offices in England, but it also took advertising space in the Salvation Army papers.

The true inwardness of this will presently be made manifest.

[To be concluded.]

\* The cost of feeding the Colonists is 1s. 3d. per week." (Com. of Enquiry on Park Eng. Scheme, 1922.)



## OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions for the Socialist Standard, articles correspondence and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed, "The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 10, Sandland Street, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable. The Socialist Standard is published on the last Saturday in each month.

The meetings of the Executive Committee are held at the Head Office every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m.

## TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

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## The Socialist Standard,



THURSDAY SEP. 1, 1910.

## HIT BELOW THE POCKET.

THERE is much fluttering in the pigeon-roosts of "Labour." The Osborne judgment—and the dozen or so of injunctions forbidding the use of Trade Union funds for political purposes look very much like ending the all too long career of Keir Hardie's fledgling and at the same time spoiling the political chances of many of our Labour mis-leaders, actual and potential.

The organ of the I.L.P. waxes truculent over this "insidious" attack, in telling of how the wicked Tories are bludgeoning and bullying the innocent trade unionist, and how the Liberals refuse to help the poor victim—and of the militant methods (whatever that may mean) the Party will be compelled to have recourse to. A deadly blow has been aimed at Labour, say they. But have not the "Labour" crowd boasted of the one and three-quarter millions of trade unionists who have united with the Socialists (sic) to march solidly forward to win—"fair representation" and other dainties? Why the rumpus, then? If the boast be well founded, surely no such paltry incidents as these injunctions could separate these brave companions in arms—could prevent them from providing the election expenses and maintenance of their representatives.

But no; it seems that with the legal restraint on the union machine's power to stop a member's benefit, to expel him, and even to hinder him from working at his trade, there goes by the board at the same time the very basis of the so-called Labour Party. So the Party, then, depending for its existence upon the terrorising of trade unionists! Such seems a fair deduction from the insistence of the Party leaders that the unions have the power to compulsorily levy their members for political purposes. Of course, the leaders tell us that their whole concern is for the natural right of the unions, or rather the voting majority, to use the funds for such purpose. They are all for "liberty" and "Labour's rights." Yes, but they don't fool all of us!

And what remedies do our good men propose? For the nonce a "special appeal" has been made to all the affiliated societies of the Party and to personal friends of the movement to subscribe a special fighting fund; while the trade unions are being asked to subscribe 250,000 sixpences for the fund. If we know our trade unionist at all, judicious coaxing will be required to extract those "tanners," and that the wire-pullers of the I.L.P. and Labour Party fear as much is manifest from their agent's statement that "during the Autumn a series of meetings will be held in all parts of the country urging the claims of the appeal"; and also from the curious fact that the Party executive confines its demands to the modest proportion of 250,000 subs from a boasted membership of seven times 250,000. We fancy those "personal friends" will be in request.

The Parliamentary victims of these law court machinations have been recommended to transfer their energies to securing the State payment of Members of Parliament and of Returning Officers' fees. But while "the Party as such

associated itself with the movement in favour of this reform," we are told that "it will only be palliative and can in no sense restore the position which the Osborne decision has temporarily destroyed." In other words the *status ante-Osborne* was far preferable and is to be re-established if possible; while some members are dead against State payment altogether. But why this decline of enthusiasm for the old Radical reform? Is it because these lovers of democracy, Ramsay MacDonald and the rest of them, are anxious to remain under the supposed control of the rank and file through dependence on these for their maintenance? Or is it not rather because these good people, through the present electoral law and their control of trade union funds, have had practically a monopoly of the political Labour-leader business, and consequently are not at all prepared to share seats and candidatures with various smaller organisations, which would, with payment of members, etc., have a better show in the game.

Altogether the situation is most interesting, and the efforts of the Lib-Lab and quasi-Socialist schemers, who are largely responsible for the present political backwardness of the working class in this country, to disentangle themselves from a most awkward and threatening situation should receive the critical attention of all who have the cause of the working class at heart.

## OUR NEW PAMPHLET.

Our new pamphlet has had a fine reception at the hands of the working class, being everywhere bought and assiduously read. Its scientific character is particularly appreciated—a fact that bodes well for its usefulness as an instrument for clearing the working-class mind of superstition and the political field of quacks. We are not yet in a position to deal with the criticisms that such a complacency disturbing manifesto must inevitably call forth. That is a treat to follow. Meanwhile the first edition is so near exhaustion that the Executive Committee have already taken the first steps toward the publication of a second and larger edition, thus insuring that the Party's message of deliverance from bondage, economic and mental, shall be carried to the farthest limits of capitalism.

## THE LAMENT OF THE "ALSO RANS."

Mr. Hardie is wild. So is Ramsay Mac. The latter is at Lissiemouth. Suggestive name! Its like this: we knew if we only kept the bull's-eye on the Labour Party long enough someone would discern its clay feet. J. Burgess has seen them, likewise J. McLachlan, ditto J. Belcher—three J's, observe. Then there are Leonard Hall and C. Douthwaite, who, with the latter two, have unbundled their tear-drowned souls to an unsympathetic world in a brain spasm entitled "Let us Reform the Labour Party." Only the elect were to receive a copy, but we managed to encroach upon the privilege of the elect and became possessed of a sample. Mr. Hardie is savage because the "Express" did likewise. Ramsay Mac is positively disagreeable. He threatens. Look at this: "If this irritating unsettlement, even if it is confined to a small section, is to go on year after year, the result is quite obvious. Men are not to waste their lives, when other spheres of useful activity are open to them, in controversy which is silly and in repelling criticisms which are often beneath contempt." In other words, "you can't do without me"—a taunt at which even a back ally pigeon club would squirm.

But to the pamphlet. Almost superfluous is it to say that some of the rebellious ones were unkindly treated at the last election. After several pages demonstrating that the Labour Party is some degrees worse than bad, the chief scribe, McLachlan, hopes no one will be cowardly enough to think of leaving it and joining a Socialist organisation. Nothing so logical. Rather says he, "it is for us to state in the clearest possible manner what we stand for and vote steadily on the merits of the questions before us, regardless of consequences, rather than barter our support for some promised measure," etc., etc. All this in big capitals except "regardless of consequences." The whole pamphlet, it is worth noting, is a squabble as to the respective value of and precedence given to different palliatives. The Veto and the Budget; whether the

Labour Party should have supported them; whether it made the most opportune overtures to the Liberals, and such like, go to make up the bulk of the pamphlet. Unemployment, a question upon which the Labour Party has been "concentrating" for years, was dealt with in a manner quite statesmanlike and practical, as our author shows. It seems Thorne and O'Grady each had amendments put down to the address, dealing with unemployment. Both were dropped because the Tories would very likely have voted with the Labour Party, and thus brought about the defeat of the Government. Appalling, isn't it? But the writer points out that, horrible to contemplate, had the Tories brought in an unemployment amendment to the Address, the Labour members would have had to vote against it or abstain. Into such bogs flounder the apostles of the "something now" doctrine.

The foregoing shows the Labour Party getting it—in the neck. We have always urged the fallaciousness of the "something now" attitude, and confess our inability to discover any difference between the sum total of the benefits the Labour Party have conferred upon the workers and nothing. The attitude of the I.L.P. toward the trade unions—who supply the funds—is interesting. The trade unionists, we learn, "are inferior in political training, and in power of initiative to the Socialists who are in the position of leaders in Parliament." Again, "Consciousness is vital in leaders, but not necessarily so in the early stages of the rank and file." And again, "The one way by which the Trade Unionist can be led to accept Socialism is by co-operative action with Socialists." That consciousness is viewed as not vital in the rank and file, and is only supposed to appear after action with the so-called Socialists, explains the weird doings of the Labour Party in the name of Socialism. General Booth is credited with the philosophy that with one wise man and fifty fools to do his bidding, the world is better by fifty wise men. The theory leaks in two places: the wise one may not remain wise; the fools remain fools. A membership in which consciousness is non-existent supplies the man on the make with his opportunity. The wage-slave must be conscious of his position in society and know the way out. With the goal clear and distinct, "leaders" are a nuisance. W. T. H.

## ARE WE ROBBED?

A.—Here, I want you to clear up a little difficulty. You said the other day that we are poor because we are robbed. I agree, of course, that we are poor, while the boss, who does not work, is well off, but I can't see exactly how the robbery takes place.

B.—Well, the workers are in the factory. They produce more wealth for the master class than is given back to them in the shape of wages. Mr. Chiozza Money, in "Riches and Poverty," shows that of the wealth produced in this country, which he estimates at roughly £1,710,000,000 per annum, the wage-earners receive but £555,000,000, which means that the masters, who do nothing towards its production, receive £1,055,000,000—by far the largest share. You work for a certain number of hours and produce in that time a certain amount of wealth, but the wage paid to you is merely sufficient to reproduce the energy expended by you in that production and not enough to buy goods of an equal value to those you produce. The difference between these two amounts, which we call surplus value and which the masters call rent, profit and interest, is what you are robbed of. Is that clear?

A.—Well, hardly. I do not see how that is robbery. You agree with the employer to take a certain screw, or, as you would put it, to take a certain price for the labour-power that you have to sell. That the boss gets fat I admit, but I don't see where the robbery comes in.

B.—Just a moment. If a customer enters a tradesman's shop, receives goods to the value of £5 and pays £1, the tradesman would be robbed, would he not?

A.—Yes, he gave more than he got in return.

B.—Just so, and if the employer gives you £1 for producing £3 worth of goods, he gets more from you than he gives in return, and is, consequently, a robber. You may argue

## JOTTINGS.

One would think that the Editor of *Justice* had been at the game long enough now to understand something of Marxian economics, yet in the course of an answer to a correspondent in the issue of June 18th, he says: "If, however, through increased output, the value of a ton of coal fell to 15s., and later, 'So with gold: as gold, through increased output, or from any cause, falls in value,' and still further on: 'Therefore, if the value of gold is depreciated in consequence of increased supply,'"

So many ifs, of course, will carry one a long way in a quibble. One can "if" any impossibility and draw a sane conclusion. All the same, such an instance as this marks the charlatan or the ignoramus.

The very basis of Socialist economics is that value is created by socially necessary human labour alone, and that the value of any commodity is governed by the amount of such labour necessary to produce it like that. That is the argument with which we flatten the capitalist claim that they produce value from "machinery, capital, directive ability, etc." What has "increased output or other causes" to do with the labour entailed in the output. A mine employing 100 men might double its output by employing 200 men, but the labour necessary to produce each ton of coal remaining the same, increased output as no effect on value, however it might modify price.

Once grant the capitalists that there is any other source of value than human labour, and you grant that there is some other source of profit than the labourer. But then, of course, confusion in economics is as necessary as air and gargle to reformers. Sound economic knowledge means no reform, no reform means no compromise, no compromise means no S.D.P., no I.L.P., no Labour Party, no Labour fakers, no anything except capitalism on the one hand and the S.P.G.B. on the other.

The sanctity of the home (of capitalists, for the workers are without most things that make a home in its true sense possible) is shown by "Mr. Dooley" in his description of "Life at Newport." The American humourist philosopher also describes the "directing ability" necessary to qualify one for the "pleasures" of that well-known millionaire's resort. Hear him: "But 'tis the millionaire's dream to land there. He starts as foreman in a can factory. By an by he learns that wan iv th' men wurkin' fur him has invented a top that ye can open with a pair of scissors, and he throws him down and takes it away frim him."

"He's a robber, says ye! He is while he's got th' other man down. But when he gets up, he's a magnate."

"Thin he sells out th' wurks to a thrust, an' thin he sells out th' thrust to th' thrustful, an' begins his weary march to Newport."

"'Tis there th' millionaire meets his wife that was an' intrajooes her to his wife that is to be if she can break away frim her husband that oughtn't to've been."

"That's capitalist 'industry,' and very often 'home life' to a 'T.'"

Who is Earnest Marklew? I don't know, and don't much care, but I find his name footing a couple of columns or so of most incongruous rubbish in the *Pioneer* (Burnley) for August, and I was wondering if any institution has lost a patient: there are so many lunatics just now shouting "Look at Germany!"

Mr. Marklew has been to Germany. Unfortunately he has come back again. If he is any wiser for his visit what must he have been before he went! Here is a sample of his wisdom.

"Germany has fostered its agriculture in a great number and variety of ways. One of the most important is the State ownership of railways and waterways, and the consequent provision of cheap transport, enabling the farmer and the market gardener to dispose of his produce and avoid the swallowing up of his profit by idle railway shareholders."

That little word which I have italicised comes

if you will, that he entered into a bargain while the tradesman did not; but to-day the worker is at the mercy of the capitalist, who takes up the attitude of the highwayman, and holding the pistol of starvation at your head says, "accept these terms or die."

A.—Well, that again seems right enough, but in the production of goods the machinery, purchased by the capitalists, the buildings, etc., are utilised and eventually worn out. That has to come out of the so-called surplus value.

B.—Not at all. All that expenditure, including the raw material, the necessary clerking, bookkeeping and transit is counted up by the capitalist and, as representing so much necessary labour, is added to the value of the article produced. The amount of machinery used up in the production of any article utilises as it were, the stored up labour embodied in the machine by the labourers who made it, just as the cash paid for the raw material is but payment for the labour embodied therein. The value of all commodities is determined by the amount of socially necessary labour embodied in them, whether that be transmitted through a machine or more directly by hand. With all this expenditure and the vast amounts paid for what is really unnecessary work, deducted, the capitalist class who comprise but one-seventh of the community, receive more than two-thirds of the wealth produced. All that they get, from no matter what source, is robbed from the working class, who, by their labour, physical and mental, produce all wealth. This robbery will go on so long as you have a system of society which enables one man, or one section of the community, to buy a man's labour-power, sell the results of the application of that labour-power, and appropriate the difference. What we workers should do and what, eventually, we must do, is to organise to stop the robbery, to institute in the place of the present capitalist system, a system wherein we produce wealth because we want it, and not because another wants profits. With the aid of the present means of production, a little concerted effort on the part of all would produce sufficient wealth to provide for all. Why should we produce for others? Why should we be robbed?

A.—Well, old chap, I must confess that you have the best of the argument. I'll think it over and will continue the discussion another time. I must be off to work now. Good day.

## FULHAM BRANCH REPORT.

WILL THORNE, M.P. IN THE PILLORY AT FULHAM CROSS.

WITH unemployment and poverty on the increase in Fulham and the consequent mushroom growth of the everlasting reform and fake organisations, it has been necessary for the above branch to increase its activities and institute a vigorous propaganda to put before the workers our, and consequently their position, and to counteract the sloppy sentimentalism that is being served up as Socialism by the advocates of municipal pawnshops and other tax-eat. Our hostility to capitalism and inevitable denunciation of these adjuncts of capitalism is met with nothing but approval by the more intelligent of the working class. That our efforts are being rewarded is obvious to the most casual observer. Proof? Since our propaganda the Labour Party with its idiotic and pusillanimous policy is conspicuous by its absence, the I.L.P., true to its traditions, is a negligible quantity, and the S.D.P., some speakers of which are suffering from a severe attack of intellectual anaemia, is in a comatose state, although they do occasionally hold a meeting. But our propaganda is so effective that their speakers are invariably subjected to a trenchant criticism.

At our Sunday morning meeting on July 10 at Daves Road, Fulham, we had Mr. W. Thorne, M.P., on our platform in opposition, although Bill, believing discretion to be the better part of valour, could not be induced to debate. He

previously addressed a meeting of the Gasworkers' Union when, standing by Comrade Barker's allusion to the mutual blacklegging of trade unions, he took the platform, supposedly to deny this blacklegging. He did not, however, attempt to deal with the point, but merely said that the unions should federate and stop every wheel in the factory. Among his gems of wisdom was the assertion that a general eight hour working day would absorb the unemployed (a statement with which, curiously enough, Thorne's fellow-speaker, a Mr. Connell, disagreed), although it would not cure all our economic evils. We were a party opposed to political action, and he was against a physical force revolution, believing that an attempt at such would meet with overwhelming and bloody suppression. He concluded with the pathetic wail "You are always attacking me."

In reply our comrade Barker pointed out that Thorne had not touched the question of trade unionist blacklegging, and that the S.P.G.B. does advocate political action, as our Declaration of Principles shows. He reminded the audience that Thorne himself was not so long ago brought into the police court charged with having told the unemployed to have recourse to physical force—to wit, the raiding of bakers' shops.

But remarked that Barker was continually interrupted by Thorne's supporters in the audience. At this juncture Thorne himself, who is constitutionally incapable of observing the respect due to an opponent, interrupted and denied the incident of the bakers' shops. He said that in Trafalgar Square he had merely quoted Cardinal Manning's teaching that it was not immoral for a starving man to steal.

With characteristic disregard for the truth he denied the statement that he had supported Mr. Percy Alden's Liberal candidature at Tottenham and said that what he did was to state at a social gathering where Mr. Alden spoke, that the latter had worked with him (Thorne) on the West Ham Borough Council, and had been a good member of their party.

When the statement of Mr. Hyndman, Mr. Thorne's teacher and fellow member of the S.D.P., was read—"It follows that so long as the capitalist system endures so long must the appropriation of unpaid labour continue, so long must there be an army of unemployed at hand to restrain the demands of those who are at work" ("Economics of Socialism.")—Thorne showed his approval, with delighted inconsistency, by lustily bellowing "Hear hear." This, contrasted with his statement that unemployment under capitalism could be abolished by the institution of a general eight hours working day, made it clear to some, at least, of the audience, how contradictory and confusing, and consequently injurious, is the teaching of Thorne & Co.

Thorne's pantomimic display and the severing of the way for a record crowd at the Cross on the following Sunday. Barker again dealt with Mr. Thorne's trickery, but it was significant that no one attempted to defend Thorne, even tho' his chairmen of the 10th was in the audience.

Now, Comrades, let us get to work again, taking no rest while one labour misleader dares to show his face at a public meeting. R. T. M.

For the benefit of others on whom Mr. Thorne's protestations of innocence may fall, we publish the following self-explanatory and condemnatory letter.—E.S., "S.S."

(Registered Office) 214 Pentonville Road, King's Cross, N. July 17th, 1903.

My Dear Alden, I am very sorry that you cannot run as a labour candidate, but whether you do so or not I honestly believe that you would, if returned to Parliament, help the cause of the down-trodden masses all that lay in your power. Any man who has our principles rooted in his mind cannot help fighting for the cause of the working classes. I have written to our Tottenham branch secretary, and told him how you laboured for the workers cause during your connection with the Town Council of West Ham. You know that I come into conflict with many of my comrades for backing up men like yourself, but I cannot help.

I wish you success in any constituency for which you may stand.—Fraternally yours, (Signed) WILL THORNE.



very well from one who elsewhere says "I yield to no one in the matter of being an out-and-out Revolutionary Socialist... BUT—" It trips melodiously from the tongue of one who sees "much more clearly than some one-eyed impossibilists that the only permanent and complete cure for the ills from which the working class suffer is a revolutionary change involving the complete abolition of capitalism." It appears very fittingly in a journal emanating from an S.D.P. club. The German workers must be immensely gratified to know that the profit they are forced to yield to the farmers and market gardeners does not find its way into the pockets of idle railway shareholders. Doubtless it would break their hearts to know that the big landlords are able to screw more rent, and the Government more taxes, out of their poor dear masters, than would be the case if idle railway shareholders swallowed up all the bunce.

\* \* \*

Of course the lay of the minstrel is that German reforms have worked wonders for German workers. The German workman, he says, "is a bigger and better man, physically and mentally, than his British brother-workman." This Mr. Marklew attributes to "social legislation on lines approximating to the Social-Democrats' programme of palliatives." But just previously he had written: "When Germany has had as long an experience of industrial capitalism as we have passed through, one can easily foresee that there will be a different tale to tell about German physique and the general condition of German workmen."

What! in spite "of social legislation on lines approximating to the Social-Democrats' programme of palliatives"? Oh dear! it might almost be "some one-eyed impossibilist" I am quoting.

\* \* \*

Need we be surprised that Mr. Marklew approves "the prudential wisdom" of Bismarck's policy of protecting German industry "by a strong tariff wall" which he reminds us was "all the more necessary while industries are young and struggling to plant themselves firmly." To thoroughly appreciate Bismarck's policy one must put oneself in Bismarck's place—a thing the "Revolutionary Socialist—BUT" kind of politician accomplishes with the utmost ease. Bismarck was a "Revolutionary Socialist—BUT" kind of politician himself, and he played the S.D.P. game of trying to side-track the proletariat with a skill and success that was bound to obtain our S.D.P. scribe's admiration. He even offered Karl Marx the editorship of a "Revolutionary Socialist—BUT" newspaper, and had not Marx been a bit of a "one-eyed impossibilist" himself, he would have seized the opportunity that the S.D.P.-I.L.P. ambition hungers and thirsts after.

But Mr. Marklew thinks it admirable to protect struggling young industries with strong tariff walls—why? Must we suppose to the end that "when Germany has had as long an experience" of them as we have had there will be a different tale to tell about German physique and the general condition of German workmen? A worthy object for working-class endeavour, the fostering and protecting of industries which are to lead only to that!

\* \* \*

But the special tit-bit of the whole feast is the following statement:

"Their system of taxation is infinitely preferable to ours. Its principle feature is a graduated income tax. It leaves untouched all incomes under £45 a year, and allows a graduated scale of relief from payments to those with families of more than three children. These exemptions and reliefs would be an immense boon to the poorest of our working class."

They would, indeed. I've always held that the millstone round the neck of the poor devil who is struggling to keep ten kids on 17s. 6d. a week is the income tax! We want some of that boon and blessing in this country—there might be joy in twins, or even triplets then.

\* \* \*

As a sort of supplement to this attempt to show that the worker in Germany is in so much better case than his British fellow, there appears on the same page of the same issue of the same thingamebob, this "one-eyed impossibilist" statement:

"When so much is being said about the conditions of the German and British workman, it is well to point out that whether it be Protectionist France or Germany, or Free Trade England, whilst the present system of production remains, the condition of the workers in all countries alike will, on the whole, be found to be very similar."

## The Cult of Pessimism.

Nor so very long ago it was the fashion for the (somewhat ironically named) "Intellectual" school to take as its guide, philosopher and friend that master of paradoxical invective, Friedrich Nietzsche. But times and opinions have changed. A wave of pessimism has swept over the scene. Schopenhauer with his negation of all values, intellectual and moral, has apparently taken the place of Nietzsche and the periodical re-valuation of whatever is worth the valuing. Instead of the vision of a race of supermen—that chimera of the mad-brained German professor—we have the atavistic idea of an immovable and unsurmountable obstacle in the path of social progress.

The "Intellectuals," those gods stationed on Olympus, find that even their superior intelligence is not enough to raise the "lower classes" (they mean, presumably, the working class) to a level sufficiently high to allow of their vague and Utopian schemes of life ever becoming effective. This failure on their part must, they think, certainly portend "the end of all," for if they, the favoured ones of the earth, cannot do anything to raise the status of the working class, who can!

Mr. Cecil Chesterton—who belongs to the Church Socialist League and is a member or an ex-member of the Fabian Society, and may thus be considered as within the inner circle of the "elect"—has recently given to the world a book entitled "Party and People," in which a most gloomy view is taken by him, not only of present-day parties and politics (which is, perhaps, reasonable) but also of the possibility of any change in the condition of parties and people. He has apparently realised the truism that the progress of society coincides with the progress of the majority of the people constituting that society, but he entirely fails to see how political efforts can ever be effective and prognosticates that only by methods of violence can things be changed. He says right at the end of his book:

"Does this political machinery ever really do anything? Can it do anything? We preach, and criticise and agitate, and men make crosses on pieces of paper, and other men go into lobbies. And it all goes on. And still Mammon is on his throne, and still the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head. We have passed laws to give to the people the control over Parliament—and the people have no more control (perhaps less control) over Parliament than before the first of those laws was passed."

"Is it, after all, only the sword that can change things?"

Certainly, the undoubted evils in society as at present constituted—the poverty and unemployment, the physical and mental degradation and demoralisation—will never be eliminated if many such books as the one under review are written and accepted as tending towards the political education of the people. The whole book, is, indeed, such a conglomeration of useful criticism and useless expedients, of the mildly helpful and the wholly pernicious, that anyone reading it without a preconceived opinion on and definite knowledge of capitalist society in all its multitudinous bearings, would be hopelessly bewildered by the views expressed therein.

Mr. Chesterton's criticism of the orthodox political parties and their methods is perhaps worth reproducing. He says:

"To build up an immense apparatus called 'politics' having for its object the deception of the people has been for four hundred years the settled object of British statesmanship. So far, it has completely succeeded."—Intro. XIII.

"The settled policy of the leaders of that organisation" (the author is speaking of the Labour Party) "for the last three years has been to effect an alliance with the Liberal politicians for the sole purpose of saving their seats from attack. It looks as if the only effect of the appearance of a Labour Party on the floor of the House, which was hailed with such a flourish of trumpets four years ago, would be to enable certain Socialist (sic) leaders to follow Mr. John Burns on to the Liberal front bench—at a suitable salary."—Intro. XVIII.

"As for the Labour men, they have been utterly routed in the South and Midlands, while in the North those that have kept their seats have only done so by exchanging their boasted independence for an abject dependence on Liberal votes. Where they have attempted a three-cornered fight, they have been not so much snowed under as entirely disregarded by the electorate." (Page 10.)

"Mr. Macdonald is the most splendid organiser of defeat the world has ever seen." (Page 26.)

There is something really hopeful about the above criticisms. But anyone reading these extracts and expecting to find that the conclusions drawn therefrom by the author will help to solve the problems facing society will, it is to be feared, be woefully disappointed. Why is it that a man such as Cecil Chesterton, who has a certain amount of literary ability, and who has sufficient perception and insight to understand the actual interests underlying the protestations of the Liberal, Tory and Labour parties, should ignominiously shirk the obvious conclusions to be drawn from the premises he himself put forward? He shows in his book that the Liberal, Tory and Labour parties are absolutely worthless from a working-class standpoint, that they cannot and will not give anything that would benefit the workers; and yet on page after page he advocates reform measures—National Defence, Tariff Reform, the Eight Hours Day, Nationalisation of the Land and various industries—all of which must, if they are given at all, be given by the aforementioned parties, which parties are admittedly nothing but the expression of interests directly in opposition to the interests of the workers.

No wonder he becomes pessimistic. Finding that he has wandered up an intellectual cul-de-sac he refuses to retrace his steps and seek out the straight and narrow way that leads to Socialism, preferring to attempt the impossible task of breaking down the impenetrable wall to which he has come by the obsolete methods of sword and barricade.

Mr. Chesterton and the entire "intellectual" circle in which he moves have "funked" the obvious facts of life, and ended, in despair, by stultifying their reason and stupefying their imagination in the fumes of a musty and worn-out romanticism.

On page 174 of "Party and People" we are told that the only way of escape from the present muddle is to raise the people in a mass against the politicians of all colours. Mr. Chesterton has, however, made this discovery rather late in the day, as the following extract from the Manifesto of the Socialist Party of Great Britain will show:

"Realising that the economic forces working through the development of capitalist society demanded the formation of a revolutionary Socialist party, believing that the emancipation of the working class can be accomplished only by the members of that class consciously organised in a Socialist party, and recognising that the class struggle can alone be the basis of such a party, a small but determined band of workers assembled in London on June 12th, 1904, and founded the Party of the Workers, The Socialist Party of Great Britain, a party based on clear and unmistakable principles interpreted in plain and unequivocal tactics."

We, at any rate, are not pessimistic as to the increasing vitality of the Socialist movement, in this, and in every other, so-called civilised country. We find no reason to doubt that the growth of intelligence among the class to which we belong will continue. But then we make no pretensions to any excessive intellectuality and the exalted altitude where one's wits are lost in the clouds is not (and we hope never will be) for us.

F. J. WEBB.

## REVIEW.

"Wake Up, England! Being the Story of John Bull, Socialist."

This is a stupid book—a clumsy book. It is addressed more particularly to anti-Socialists, and, in the guise of a badly written tale, endeavours to convey some idea of the state of things thirty years after the Revolution. The author would certainly have succeeded better had Nature endowed him with a brain, but there, as the volume is directed to those equally lacking in intelligence, no great harm will be done.

But to get on with the ganglionic perturbation under notice. The chief character is a doctor, a man whose mental calibre may be estimated quite as highly as the author's, when it is known that although he worked and voted for Socialism and lived for thirty years after its advent, at the end of that period he knows nothing about it. The "hero" of the book, John Bull, is a weak, phthisical boy, a manifest importation from capitalism, with bad eyes, a morose, taciturn disposition, a longing to be alone, and a hatred of his kind. He attempts to murder a man who runs off with his wife, and finishes up by drowning himself. Another "great" character, with a longing for the "good old times," is William Sykes, who did a "night's work" in the days of capitalism and came out of prison after the establishment of the new order. With this single exception, and that attended with disaster, Bill Sykes had never done a stroke of work in his life, and his misguided father, just before quitting this vale of tears, reproached him with being a tramp, and left him 10s. a week and a cottage so that toil and Bill Sykes should for ever remain estranged. [Bill, by way of a kind of guerilla warfare with the "fishals" succeeds in living as a parasite upon his fellows, a fact which seems to afford our author immense satisfaction.]

The officials, by the way, are most curious creatures— weird composites of all that is most petty and tyrannical in the vilest of capitalist shop-foremen, the most parsimonious of poor-law guardians, and the most stupid of police inspectors. By everyone hated and despised, the author is compelled to invent an impossibility to account for their retention of office. He calls it "being responsible for a majority." Exactly how it works is not apparent to those devoid of the eye of faith. It may be clear to the author, but his secret is safe, anyway.

In brief, this bile-producing "work" is a very bad rehash of the "break-up-of-family-life," "Socialism means Atheism, therefore - bad," "Socialism means death-to-incentive" tags; silly statements, as we all know, with which Methuselah whiled away his childhood. After perusing this colossal tome the inhabitants of Frying Pan Alley and Paradise Place will number themselves with the happiest of mortals. The free and independent citizen who is fifteen weeks in arrears with the rent, and finds himself and his family kicked out in the rain, will still be able to gaze into the smiling, sunny faces of his emaciated family and congratulate himself on the preservation of his family life, his immortal soul, and his incentive—especially his incentive. He can still say as the sole drops off his only boot and he gets run in for being without visible means, "thank Gawd it aint Soshlerism, anyhow!"

The present writer is glad he has not got it on his conscience that he paid for the copy he has read.

WILFRED.

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## BUSINESS IS BUSINESS.

Edward Holycedge, proprietor of the largest rubber eporium in the City, had good reasons for suspense when he pondered over the mental condition of his son George. Young George had been in contact with a Socialist at the local debating society, and, being an unselfish, quick-witted lad, received with sympathy and admiration the arguments of this Socialist.

Mr. Holycedge was the teacher of a young men's class in a Nonconformist Sunday School, and was astounded when his only son and prospective business successor plunged into the morass of heretical doctrines. They one day conversed as follows:

PA.—Determinism! Materialism! Socialism! Rubbish, my son! When young many hold such dangerous opinions, but actual contact with the world brings on a calm, conservative and pious maturity. Bah! You talk of a bad economic environment leading to moral and mental apathy, why, my lad, anyone worth his salt can rise above his environment, can conquer it and live a moral life, and so be an example to his fellow citizens. Your Socialist friends are frail, aspen-like creatures, men and women unfitted to survive in these stirring days; either they are that or they are criminals dissatisfied with their well-deserved fate.

GEORGE.—But you wouldn't say, Dad, that a business man such as yourself is not influenced in his actions by certain economic conditions? Is not even your, er, moral-tone, Pa, in danger of contamination?

PA.—Decidedly not! I draw no distinction betwixt Sunday and Monday. The fact that our minister is my personal friend should be sufficient warrant for my moral calibre.

GEORGE.—Oh! But in buying and selling and contracting you cannot always tell the truth, can you?

PA.—Without boasting I think that you need not be ashamed of your father's dealings.

GEORGE.—Well, I think you don't understand. For instance, about a year ago you know that to prevent cutting the price of a well-known commodity, you and other rubber dealers "put your heads together" and signed an agreement not to sell that article below a certain figure. As a man of honour and of commercial probity you ought to have kept your word, but on the quiet you have been selling below the promised minimum. You have surreptitiously under-sold your fellow tradesmen and broken the contract. Now—

PA.—No need to go on! What an age we live in when a lad moralises to his own father! How do I know that Keen, Cut & Co., my smart rivals, were not smashing all their promises?

GEORGE.—Well, what becomes of your abstract morality which is not influenced by external conditions when you admit that fear of competitors makes you lie and act dishonestly—

PA.—Lies! Dishonour!

GEORGE.—Be calm, now. You know, Dad: "Sold under cost"; "Bankruptcy stock at 50 per cent. under cost"; "Annual Sale; goods practically given away." Are not such statements rather exaggerations? Statements intended to deceive—

PA.—No sarcasm, youngster! Say flat and plain that your father is a liar!

GEORGE.—Then also take the incident of the missionary: you were the chairman at the meeting. He was collecting for the niggers on the rubber plantations who were being ill-used by the company in which you are a large shareholder—

PA.—Am I to be held responsible for the policy of the directors?

GEORGE.—But the ideal brain-exercising social system? How does it foster altruism betwixt different classes and races? You blame the directors as managers; they blame you for demanding huge dividends. On whom have we to lay the responsibility?

PA.—Bah! Utopian fool and hot-headed youth, you don't understand.

GEORGE.—And you know that Widow Jones had

a small rubber store, which kept her and her family in comfort. You opened a large modern shop opposite and drove her into bankruptcy. Stop! I know you'll say that a larger turnover is essential to your existence; that you must extend your business or fail. Your economic environment then stands condemned for your attitude toward Mrs. Jones.

PA.—Don't you try to put me in a dilemma. One can't help hurting individuals sometimes. But as compensation I contribute liberally to charities and orphanages.

GEORGE.—You try to make the fall easy to the people to whom you have given a knock-out blow. I am a Christian and in many respects a perverser sinner, but are not business men in danger of becoming whitened sepulchres, Dad? In my religious view a burglar is a sinner; a successful commercial man possessing the money-sense, and with the honied words of abstract morality continually upon his lips is a whitened—

PA.—Go easy, now! Your language worsens.

GEORGE.—That's a matter of opinion. Your assistants are "living in." Your brutal friends, Keen, Cut & Co., defended that system because it paid them, and they said so; you defend it on the ground of a moral supervision over young men who are miles away from home influences. Messrs. Keen, Cut were sinners, but you—

PA.—This is unbearable.

GEORGE.—Let us return to abstract morality. Suppose you were personally in attendance at your shop, and a customer enquired the worth of a certain article. We will say that your customer asked "Is this of good quality?" Now if you knew the goods to be shoddy would you answer "No, madam, this particular article is of the flimsiest construction: we buy them merely to sell, and I should recommend you not to purchase?" Would you not answer thus, Dad?

PA.—Be reasonable, George. You are aware that Keen, Cut & Co. compel me to stock low-priced, flash and rubbishy stuff. If we did not cater for this refuse we should very soon go under.

GEORGE.—But why not rise bravely above such sordid circumstances? Why not lift up the banner of the ideal and blossom out as a honest capitalist, a man of sterling rectitude and an exemplar to your fellow citizens?

PA.—You are making the common error of dealing with the petty details of my business career; viewed from a proper perspective and in its entirety, my business life is in harmony with any rational interpretation of Christian doctrine, and with any reasonable view of civic virtue. Young men are apt to be dogmatic, too logical, to draw hard and fast lines, and see nothing save blacks and whites. Now an every day compromise—

GEORGE.—I don't agree. Take as an instance of how competition fosters lying and deceit, your latest contract for the workhouse—

PA.—Now stop, George! It is nearly half-past ten—we shall be late for chapel. I dislike going in late: one feels so conspicuous.

LUCIAN.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

### RECEIVED—

"Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)  
"Weekly People" (New York).  
"New York Call" (New York).  
"Gaelic American" (New York).  
"Western Wage-Earner" (Vancouver, B.C.)  
"Civil Service Socialist" (London).  
"The New World" West Ham.

## ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

J. Mockford.—The conclusion you arrive at re the price of labour-power is the one the writer intended you should. Does he not say, between the two passages you quote, "Can we apply the argument to labour-power," and then proceed to show that we can? Thanks for appreciation.  
A. GORON.—Thanks for letter, but we do not share your optimistic views. The best hope we can give you is that the "S.S." may soon be a weekly.  
"Philosofia"—Will reply in our next issue.



## S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR SEPTEMBER.

(LONDON DISTRICT)

SUNDAYS.	4th.	11th.	18th.	25th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30 H. Newman	H. Martin	F. W. Stearn	H. Cooper
" "	7.30 J. Fitzgerald	A. Barker	H. Joy	R. Fox
Brockwell Park	3.0 F. Leigh	H. Newman	D. Fisher	J. Fitzgerald
Edmonton, the Green	8.0 A. Anderson	H. Martin	F. Dawkins	W. Pearson
Finsbury Park	3.30 J. Fitzgerald	A. Reginald	F. Dawkins	A. Anderson
Forest Gate, Sebert Rd.	11.30 R. Fox	A. Jacobs	H. King	J. Halls
Fulham Cross, Dawes-rd.	" J. Halls	J. E. Roe	H. Martin	J. Kemble
Kennington Triangle	11.30 H. Martin	H. Joy	J. Kelly	A. Barker
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30 F. Dawkins	D. Fisher	J. Halls	A. Reginald
" "	7.30 A. Jacobs	H. King	H. Martin	H. King
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30 A. Reginald	F. Leigh	R. Fox	J. Roe
Parliament Hill	6.0 D. Fisher	T. W. Allen	J. Roe	H. Newman
Peckham Triangle	7.0 A. Barker	J. E. Roe	F. Leigh	J. Kemble
Stoke Newington, Ridley Rd., Dalston	11.30 D. Fisher	J. Kelly	A. Jacobs	F. Stearn
Tooting Broadway	" J. Roe	A. Barker	H. Joy	H. Martin
" "	7.30 H. Newman	J. Kemble	F. W. Stearn	J. E. Roe
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	11.30 F. W. Stearn	T. W. Allen	A. Pearson	H. Newman
" "	7.30 H. Martin	A. Reginald	J. Fitzgerald	A. Anderson
Walthamstow, Hoe-st. Stn.	8.0 F. Dawkins	H. Joy	T. W. Allen	A. Jacobs
Wandsworth, Buckhold Road	" J. E. Roe	H. Newman	A. Barker	J. Fitzgerald
Watford Market Place	" T. W. Allen	F. W. Stearn	A. Reginald	F. Leigh
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30 A. W. Pearson	J. Halls	J. Roe	J. Kelly
" "	7.30 J. Kelly	R. Fox	A. Pearson	T. W. Allen
Woolwich, Beresford-sq.	11.30 H. King	F. Dawkins	J. Fitzgerald	H. Joy

**MONDAYS.**—Islington, Highbury Cnr. 8.30. Waltham Green Church, 8 p.m.  
**TUESDAYS.**—Battersea, Prince's Head, 8 p.m. Earlsfield, Putney Bridge-rd., 8.  
**WEDNESDAYS.**—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Waltham Green, Church, 8. Plaistow, Greengate, 8.  
 Peckham Triangle, 8.30. Stoke Newington, Hoxton Church, 8.30.  
**THURSDAYS.**—Battersea, Prince's Head, 8.0. Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Earlsfield-rd., 8.  
**FRIDAYS.**—Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, St. Loy's rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30. Ilford, Seven King's Station, 8.  
**SATURDAYS.**—Earlsfield, Magdalene Road, 7 p.m. Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m.  
 East Ham, Ruskin Avenue, 8. Streatham, Fountain, 8 p.m.

## SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

10, SANDLAND STREET, LONDON, W.C.

### BRANCH DIRECTORY.

**BATTERSEA.**—A. Jones, Secretary, 3, Mathew-st., Latchmere Estate, Battersea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnum House, 134, High-street, Battersea, S.W.  
**BURNLEY.**—G. Schofield, Sec., 23 Mitella-street, Fulledge, Burnley. Branch meets every Sunday at 11 a.m. at above address.  
**CENTRAL.**—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.  
**EARLSFIELD.**—R. B. Goodwin, Sec., 48, Plough-la., Wimbledon. Branch meets Sat., 29, Thornsett-rd. at 8.30. Rooms open every evening.  
**EAST HAM.**—Communications to Sec., 421, High-st. North, East Ham, where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.  
**EDMONTON.**—Sidney Auty, Sec., 60, Gilpin Grove, Edmonton. Branch meets Wednesdays 8.30.  
**FRAZERBURGH.**—H. J. Whipp, Sec., 53, Broad-st., Frazerburgh.  
**FULHAM.**—J. Williams Secretary, 45, Warple Way, Wandsworth, S.W. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Fridays at 8 p.m. at Ingram's Coffee Rooms, Fulham Cross.  
**ISLINGTON.**—Communications to Secy. Branch meets every Wed. at 8 at 144, Seven Sisters-rd. Holloway, N.  
**LAMBETH.**—W. McCartney, Sec., 37, Morecombe-st., York st., Walworth-rd., S.E. Branch meets Mondays, 8.30 p.m., at 66 Walworth-rd.  
**MANCHESTER.**—T. McCarthy, Sec., 151, Mill-st., Great Ancoats-st., Manchester. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Fridays at 8 p.m. at County Forum, Crompton-court.  
**NOTTINGHAM.**—Communications to Secretary, 4, Balfour-road, Nottingham.  
**PADDINGTON.**—B. Carthurs, Sec., 33, Walerton-rd., Maida Hill, W. Branch meets Thurs. 8.30 p.m., at 14, Gt. Western-rd., Harrow-rd., W.  
**PECKHAM.**—J. Benford, Sec., 38, Kimberley-rd., Nunhead. Branch meets every Fri. at 8.30 at 21, Nunhead Lane, Peckham.  
**ROMFORD DIVISION.**—All communications to branch Secretary, 27, York-rd., Ilford where Branch meets Sundays, 8 p.m.  
**STOKE NEWINGTON.**—S. Quelch, Sec., 152, High-st., Shoreditch, E.C. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Mon., 8 p.m. at 2, Dalston Lane.  
**THORNTON HEATH.**—P. G. Barker, Sec., 7 Corporation-rd., Woodside, Croydon.  
**TOOTING.**—H. Wallis, Sec., 111, Sellingcourt Rd., Tooting. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30 at Gorrage Dining Rooms, Tooting Junction.  
**TOTTENHAM.**—Sec., 2 Caistor, 8 Colsterworth-rd., High rd., Tottenham. Branch meets Mondays at 8 p.m., at High Cross Institute, 314 High-rd.  
**WALTHAMSTOW.**—H. Crump, Sec., 244, Forest-rd., Walthamstow. Branch meets at the Pioneer Institute, 182 Hoe-st., every Monday at 8.30.  
**WATFORD.**—G. Glen, Sec., 4, Marlborough Road. Branch meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. at Labour Church, Durban rd. Public discussion at 8.45.  
**WEST HAM.**—Communications to Secretary. Branch meets Mondays 7.30 at Boleyn Dining Rooms, 459, Green Street, Upton Park.  
**WOOLWICH.**—G. Ayres, Sec., 152 Woolwich Road, Charlton. Branch meets alternate Weds. at 8 at Todd's Dining Rooms, Beresford Square.

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## THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

### OBJECT.

*The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth and in the interest of the whole community*

## Declaration of Principles

### THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

#### HOLDS

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

### APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

To the Secretary,

.....Branch, S.P.G.B.

I hereby declare my adhesion to the above principles, and request enrolment as member of The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

Signature.....

Address.....

.....

Date.....

SPECIAL NOTE.—This form cannot be accepted if detached from Declaration printed above. The complete column must be handed to branch Sec.

**WOOD GREEN.**—W. C. Mathews, Sec., 6, Gladstone Avenue, Wood Green, N. Branch meets 1st & 3rd Wednesdays at 8.30 at 2, Station-rd.  
**WORTHING.**—G. Stoner, sec., 31 Southfield-road, Broadwater, Worthing. Branch meets Tues. 8.30 at Waverley Temperance Hotel.

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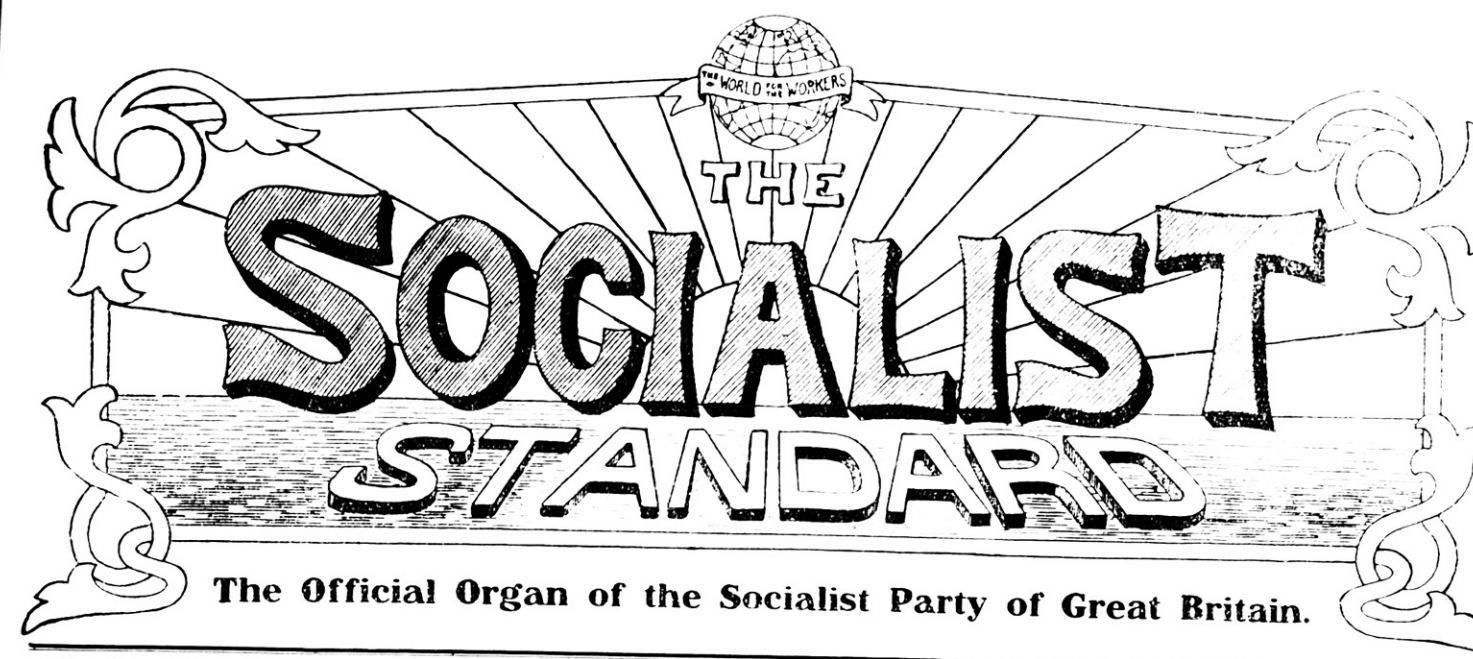
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No. 74. Vol. 7.]

LONDON, OCTOBER 1910.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

## SCIENCE AND THE "SOCIAL PROBLEM."

### THE LOGIC OF THE SOCIALIST SOLUTION.

EMILE Zola, in his realistic novel, "Work," pictures science as the peaceful means by which the "evils" of modern society will be removed. He tells us that the continued application of science to industry will solve "the social problem," the political action of the working class being unnecessary. Zola's attitude has been adopted by others, and the popularity of contemporary science has led many intelligent workers to hold aloof from social and political movements and to occupy themselves with natural science. It is opportune, therefore, to consider the relation of science to the interests of the workers.

The greatest living biologist, Prof. Haeckel, opens his work "The Riddle of the Universe," with these words: "The close of the 19th century offers one of the most remarkable spectacles to thoughtful observers. All educated people are agreed that it has in many respects outstripped its predecessors, and has achieved tasks that were deemed impracticable at its commencement. An entirely new character has been given to the whole of our modern civilisation, not only by our astounding theoretical progress in sound knowledge of nature, but also by the remarkable fertile application of that knowledge in technical science, industry, commerce and so forth.

"On the other hand we have made little or no progress in moral and social life in comparison with the earlier centuries; at times there has been serious reaction and from this obvious conflict there has arisen not only an uneasy sense of dismemberment and falseness, but even the grave danger of catastrophes in the political and social world."

In his later essays, "The Wonders of Life," the same writer describes the conditions of life around him thus: "Misery and want are increasing among the poor as the division of labour and over-population increase; thousands of strong and active men come to grief every year without any fault of theirs, often precisely because they were quiet and honest; thousands are hungry because with the best will in the world they cannot find work; thousands are sacrificed to the heartless demands of our iron age with its exacting technical and industrial requirements. On the other hand, we see thousands of contemptible characters prospering because they have been able to deceive their fellows by unscrupulous speculation or because they have flattered and served the higher authority."

After having shown the great contrast between the advance of science and the terrible state of the mass of the people one might have expected this leading thinker to inquire into the cause of this phenomenon. But the bourgeois professor looks at things from the capitalist standpoint, and all we get from him is a tilt at the Catholic Church—as though poverty

was absent from Protestant England, heathen Japan or France with Secularists at the helm!

Sometimes, also, over-population is hinted at as the cause of the trouble, but the facts provide a crushing refutation of this claim. Misery is widespread in France, where a falling birth-rate gives rise to the cry "race suicide," and has prompted the suggestion that parents of more than three children be given a bonus by the Government. The population of Ireland, 8½ millions in 1850, is now only 4½ millions, yet distress abounds in the land. Many examples could be given, but these suffice; the fact remains that poverty exists to-day in the very midst of plenty such as was never seen on earth before.

Why then has social life lagged behind while signal progress has been made in other fields? Simply because science has not been applied in dealing with the "social problem." Science is systemised knowledge, and it teaches us that all effects have an adequate cause. This teaching is acted upon when treating most subjects, but the men of science do not adopt scientific methods when dealing with social questions—perhaps because they know that it would menace the interests of the ruling class.

View the "social problem" scientifically and we see that it is useless to continually attempt to end the evils that exist by merely palliating the effects ceaselessly produced by the system of society itself. The revolutionary policy of the Socialist is, then, in strict accord with the message of science because, seeing that the awful condition of the working class is caused by the robbery of the workers by the class that owns the means of producing wealth, the Socialist seeks to overthrow that class and abolish this system, and so remove the cause from which the social evils spring.

Consider some of the methods pursued toward many phases of industrial and social life, despite the volume of scientific knowledge acquired in this "wonderful century" (as Alfred Russell Wallace calls it). Consumption and kindred diseases find their victims chiefly among the working class, owing to the conditions under which they work and live. This is admitted by the National Association for the Prevention of Consumption, and was clearly indicated at their Edinburgh Conference in July. They state that "the prevention of consumption raises the whole question of poverty," but (like all reformers) they shrink from considering the question further.

The awful sufferings of those stricken by "the white scourge" is beyond description here. Seventy thousand persons die annually from it in the United Kingdom, but myriads linger on, bravely struggling to win sustenance for their dependants. A few may be "fortunate" enough to be sent to a sanatorium, and after a few months treatment are returned to the factory hells and slums, flung once more into the relentless grip

of their foul foe. Many of the best of the race devote years to tending the afflicted, but these votaries of medical science are blind to the necessity of acting in line with the logic of science; that is, to abolish the miserable conditions of the worker's lives, which are such a fertile source of disease.

That science is prostituted to the service of the capitalist class was made plain at the recent Food and Drugs Exhibition at Caxton Hall. The display showed how the ingenuity of the chemist was used to adulterate the food of the workers in order to increase the profit of the manufacturers. Bread, coffee, milk, jam, etc., are so faked as to be detrimental to health. In the large factories (Packingtown is a flagrant instance) chemists are employed to give a false appearance to rubbish in order to make it saleable, regardless of the injury it inflicts upon the toilers. A recent case of poisoning demonstrated that the cheap loots which the workers are only able to afford, are dangerous owing to the chronic acid used in preparing the "leather." All along the line the same thing occurs. Reflect upon the fact that medical science is called upon to treat those people who suffer from the use of science in industry by the capitalist class. Science used by the possessing class is uniform in its effects upon the working class. Inventions and discoveries are pressed into the service of the profit hunters and are used to increase their profits by saving wages, with the consequence that able-bodied men are flung into the streets to starve. The undeveloped bodies of the children—the potential parents of the race—are brought into the factory and workshop to operate the machines. When, as an inevitable outcome, physical deterioration sets in, the "healing art" once again comes on the scene to patch up the effects of the ever-potent cause!

The application of science to industry to-day enables the masters to speed up the toilers with the result that last year, for instance, the casualties in the British factories numbered over 328,000. Here again surgical science is ever busy tending the maimed and wounded, who, upon recovery, are compelled to go back to the death-traps of capitalism.

The question now arises, if science is applied to the "social problem," what system of society does it point to, as the solution? Let us turn to social science for the answer.

Herbert Spencer showed that this system of society, like every other manifestation of life, has evolved to its present stage. That great thinker refused, however, to follow the logic of

his own teaching, and the sorry spectacle was witnessed of the talented author of "Synthetic Philosophy" stooping to write such poor stuff as "Man versus the State" and "Facts and Comments," in which he defended private property in the means of producing

**Where  
Spencer  
Failed.**



wealth, and sought to show that this institution must remain in the future. Though Spencer proved that society has developed to its present position from lower forms, he did not inquire into the laws of social change. That was done by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

Already in 1817 Marx and Engels, in studying and criticising the philosophy of Hegel, had come to the conclusion that the method of producing and distributing wealth, and the social organisation arising from it, formed the basis upon which the political, legal and religious institutions are built up. They prove that throughout history the development of economic forces had rendered inevitable changes in the forms of social life. Since civilisation began the property conditions have led to the division of society into classes, with opposing interests, and the class struggles that ensued resulted in political revolutions with the rise of a new class to power each time. An analysis of the capitalist system of society showed that the capitalist class obtained their wealth by employing workers to use the instruments of production which they (the capitalists) owned, returning to the workers just sufficient to keep them fit to go on producing, and appropriating the difference between the wages paid and the value created.

The economic forces in society have developed to such an extent that thousands of workers co-operate in a factory, where the use of the most modern appliances and methods result in a vast mass of wealth being produced by a tithe of the men previously required. The private ownership of these great productive powers causes each individual owner to try and sell to an ever larger number of buyers, with the outcome that at frequent periods a large number of toilers are thrown out of work, the goods they have made being unsold. The machinery of industry is brought to a standstill during these "economic crises"; those capitalists unable to tide over the period of stagnation "go under," and thus the field is left to the larger concerns. These periods of industrial anarchy are becoming longer and more frequent, and if the development of society is to proceed, the ownership of these productive forces must pass from the few individuals to the whole of society; the method of ownership must be brought into line with the co-operative character of industry—Socialism must be established.

Many leading anti-Socialists have borne testimony to the truth of Marx's teaching. Mr. W. H. Mallock says ("Nineteenth Century Review," March, 1909): "His survey of economic history broadly corresponds so far as it goes with facts, and must be accepted as forming one of the most important contributions to economic thought in the course of the 19th century." Professor Flint, of Edinburgh University, whose work "Socialism" the anti-Socialists describe as the "best book written against Socialism," says: "Where alone he (Marx) did menial service was in his analysis and interpretation of the capitalist era, and there he must be admitted to have rendered eminent service."

Many opponents of Socialism pose as being scientific, and urge that Socialism is contrary to Darwinian teaching. They say that the struggle for existence between individuals and the survival of the fittest—through natural selection—is a permanent feature of human existence. These people falsely interpret Darwin's famous theory in order to combat Socialism.

That the Socialist position is based upon the facts of life is, however, clear. When man lived almost in a "state of nature" and the power of obtaining food, etc., was consequently limited, the struggle for existence was fierce. Frequently man fought against man for sustenance. But experience taught men that by co-operation they could better protect themselves against hostile forces and increase their power of getting the means of life. That co-operation has played a large part in social progress is admitted by leading biologists. Haeckel in "The Wonders of Life" (page 139) states that "the association of individuals is a great advantage in the struggle for existence." Huxley (Evolution and Ethics, p. 37) points out that "every forward step of social progress brings men into closer relation with their fellows and increases the importance of the pleasures and pains derived from sympathy." Professor J. Arthur Thompson, a prominent scientist of to-day, says ("The Science of Life," p. 196): "But even when the phrase

(struggle for existence) is literally appropriate, we must remember the altruistic colouring of many facts of life, attraction between mates, reproduction, sacrifice, parental and filial affection, the kindness of kindred, gregarious sociability and mutual aid."

The control of humanity over nature now enables us to produce wealth sufficient to assume comfort, and even luxury, for all. Therefore the real necessity of a struggle for existence between man and man has long since passed; but the fruits of industry are to-day monopolised by a few, with the consequence that men, women and children of the working class are forced to fight like animals for the opportunity to earn the necessities of life. The spectacle of a father competing with his children for a job, brother against sister, husband against wife, is not by Nature ordained, but is the result of the economic condition imposed upon the workers by those who see in cheap and numerous wage-slaves, a chance of ever-increasing profit for themselves.

It is important, too, to realise what the phrase "Survival of the fittest" implies, because many of our unscrupulous opponents twist its meaning. Mr. Mallock, for instance, in his "Aristocracy and Evolution," endeavours to show that because the great capitalists survive and flourish, they are, therefore, the "flower" of the race. A definition from one of the leading biologists of the nineteenth century will be useful here. "In the living world one of the most characteristic features of this cosmic process is the struggle for existence in the competition of each with all, the result of which is the selection, that is to say the survival, of those forms which are best adapted to the conditions which at any period obtain and which are in that respect and only in that respect the fittest." (Huxley, "Evolution and Ethics" p. 4.)

Under capitalism those who rule are not the best intellects, the "men of ability," or those possessing qualities fraught with the greatest happiness for the many, but it is the favoured few who, by inheritance, spoliation and fraud, come into possession of the means essential for producing the necessities of life. Herbert Spencer himself was often financially embarrassed when desiring to issue the products of his facile pen. Compare him with a linen draper, Mr. Ch. Morgan, who last year left a fortune of over 13 millions! Grant Allen, whose remarkable works drew praise from Herbert Spencer, embodied over twenty years patient study and investigation in "Plant Life," "Physiological Aesthetics," "Evolution of the Idea of God," "The Hand of God," and other works, yet this cultured author had a bitter struggle to provide for himself and wife. The pitiful story of how he had to turn to and write novels such as "The Typewriter Girl," in order to "keep the wolf from the door" in later years is an illuminating example of the "reward" of ability under capitalism. As Allen himself well said (in a review article upon "Socialism and Natural Inequality"), "Look at the lives of our truly great men—our thinkers, our organisers, our men of science, our discoverers, our poets, our men of letters, our artists. Is it not a commonplace that the majority of these have had to pass through a period of early struggle, that crippled some of them, soured not a few, drove mad or disheartened or permanently weakened many? Is it not a well-known fact that numbers of them died poor or starving or gave up the struggle in disgust, or lived on, mere wrecks, or took to suicide?"

"The worker who invents some valuable surgical appliance, some new anaesthetic, some scientific instrument, some optical improvement, usually makes next to nothing, sometimes loses even his all in the attempt to perfect or bring out his discovery."

Socialism, a system in which the means of producing the requirements of life would be possessed in common and worked in the interest of all, offers us the prospect of extending our control over natural forces and assuring the comforts and pleasures of life to all in return for a minimum of labour. It presents us with the great incentive of ourselves being able to enjoy the wealth that we create, instead of seeing idlers consume the fruits of our toil. Under Socialism the struggle for existence will have ceased because, as Huxley says in the work referred to (p. 35), "When the ethical process has advanced so far as to secure every member of the society in the possession of the means of existence, the

struggle for existence between man and man in that society is at an end."

Instead of "a mere squabble round the platter," the spirit of rivalry in the intellectual arena, the possibilities of self development then afforded, will result in an intelligent and informed population able to appreciate the beauties of literature, science and the arts, thus giving to the best minds in society the knowledge that their work can be understood and valued at its worth. How different to the present, when the majority of the people are so sunk in ignorance, with intelligence blunted and minds cramped, the every-day question of getting bread and butter filling their whole horizon and engaging all their time. Taking an interest in the study of the sciences, they can then help to extend the boundaries of human knowledge and increase the harvest in fields where the labourers have been all too few. Science is to-day cultivated by but a minority, but Socialism provides the means of leisure for all to take part in the work of wresting from nature secrets of infinite significance for human welfare.

Many sciences to-day are in their infancy and provinces such as psychology and "the problem of heredity" are really virgin fields awaiting cultivation still. Even one of the leading opponents, Dr. Schaffie, says of Socialism: "The very fabulous quantity of leisure would favour the rise of the more industrious as well as the more highly endowed individuals both in science and art, even if they were all obliged to spend 3 hours daily in manual labour." Taste, natural gifts and love of art would still remain unalterably various." ("Impossibility of Social Democracy," p. 161-2.)

It is hoped that the necessity has been made plain for organising to speedily end this system and to institute Socialism. That Socialism is possible was admitted by the arch-individualist Herbert Spencer, who, writing to his old French colleague, M. G. Davenay, in Oct. 1905 said: "Socialism will inevitably triumph in spite of all opposition."

Yes, Socialism is inevitable—if the workers organise and fight for it—as they will.

A. KOHN.

#### FINE GRAFT.

"The proudest boast of the old-time robber barons was that they never robbed a poor man."

"Those fellows were amateurs at the game," explained the great Captain of Industry, "and didn't understand how much money there was in it."—"Puck."

Have you read "Socialism and Religion," the latest S.P.G.B. pamphlet? It will interest and enlighten you, whatever may be your outlook on the religious question. It is an important addition to working-class literature.

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## THE TREE AND ITS FRUIT.

### WHAT THE WORKERS REALLY NEED.

PERHAPS one of the most frequent statements we who are out for the emancipation of our class are confronted with is, that as such-and-such a thing exists at present "it always will be the same." In other words, as evils exist to-day under capitalism, they will also exist under Socialism.

Now if the base of a tree is rotten it stands to reason that the tree itself will not be very strong, and in some cases propping up will become necessary. But if the tree has a good foundation, one can expect it to be sound and healthy, and no propping up will be required. The same applies to society.

Even some non-Socialists admit that the present basis of society—the ownership of all the productive wealth by a few to the detriment of the many—is rotten, and that the basis of Socialism—common ownership of the productive wealth of society—is sound, and yet they immediately state that any new form of society will bear similar fruit, and what is required is reformation of the system. The base is to be left untouched, and therefore still rotten.

Others argue that "human nature" must alter for Socialism to be practicable, at the same time overlooking the fact that what they are pleased to term "human nature" is very amenable to the influence of environment, and that with the totally different conditions of life obtaining under Socialism, the same necessity for detrimentally struggling one against the other will have disappeared.

Some recognise that at present antagonism arises between owners and non-owners of the means of life, but fail to recognise that when these means are socially owned such antagonism will cease.

If only those who continually enquire of the Socialists "would there be so-and-so under Socialism?" would always remember that the whole community would possess the instruments of wealth production, and the interest of each would be the interest of all, and then think for himself or herself whether "so-and-so" would be necessary or to the advantage either of the individual or the whole community, Socialists would be relieved of a certain amount of the work that falls upon them.

Perhaps it would not be out of place to instance a few of the things that would not exist under Socialism.

In the first place there would be no POOR, as all the means of wealth production would be jointly owned by the whole community, and as a consequence CAPITAL (wealth used to create profit) would not exist. Seeing that there would be no poor and needy, the necessity for CHARITY and PAWNSHOPS would be dispensed with. STARVATION would not be known, for to starve a person would mean that society would be deprived of that person's assistance.

The so-called UNEMPLOYABLE that exist to-day are persons who, having been unable to find a purchaser of their labour power, have gradually sunk lower and lower— for even their clothes do not last for ever. They would not exist as such under Socialism, but would have the opportunity of performing their share of the labour necessary for the maintenance of society, and have their needs satisfied from the common store they had helped to produce.

The "FALLEN WOMEN" (numbering 80,000 in London alone, according to the report of the London Lock Hospital and Rescue Home) are those who, being unable to sell their labour power, are forced to sell their bodies in prostitution in order to live. The necessity for any woman to descend to this awful depth of degradation could not arise under Socialism, for every woman would have unrestricted entry to the field of useful social service, the reward for which would be full enjoyment of the material products of the social labour.

There would be no necessity for WAR under Socialism, as interests being common, no clash of interests could give occasion for armed strife.

And of course, with the abolition of war would go the need for ARMIES, NAVIES, BOY SCOUTS and so forth.

There would be no need for CORRUPT PRACTICES (which still flourish in spite of the Act) under Socialism. They are prevalent to-day because those who cannot succeed in the competitive struggle in a straight-forward way, naturally find themselves compelled to adopt any other means that may be within their reach to advance their interests, and adulteration, fraud, lying and trickery are the result. It is quite clear therefore that there is an incentive to deceive, cheat and defraud, and while such incentive exists all the teachings of Christianity and all laws and police and judges and jails in Christendom will never succeed in preventing corrupt practices.

The IGNORANCE which exists to-day is caused by the fact that it is to the interest of the master class to keep their victims in darkness, and because excessive toil and lack of leisure allows no opportunity, and crushes all desire, for study. Under Socialism, the abolition of classes and the consequent unification of interests would make it to the interest of all that everyone should receive a thorough education, in order that they might develop and be of best possible service to society.

The state of affairs which allows an IDLE CLASS to exist, while another class work all hours imaginable, would not be possible under Socialism. This present idle class would have to do their fair share of the necessary work, without privilege of any sort, and so help to alleviate the task of the others.

These examples of evils that certainly would not exist under Socialism could be added to very largely, of course, but they must suffice.

The present system of society is like the rotten tree referred to, and the fruit it bears are the institutions that now exist.

What the workers want, therefore, is no more fighting for props (according to Lord Loreburn, the present Liberal Lord Chancellor, the workers find life more strenuous to-day than 50 years ago, in spite of reforms); no more vain striving after palliation in a system the very nature of which defies palliation, but a great and final endeavour for emancipation through a new social system on a sound basis. The institution of such a form of society is the object of the S.P.G.B.

S. A. M.

## SURPRISING INDEED!

### OFFICIAL CONFESSION THAT THE LABOUR EXCHANGE IS A BLACK-LEGGING INSTITUTION.

THE following from the *Daily News* of Sept. 10 so completely substantiates the worst we have said of the Labour Exchanges that we are constrained to publish the whole item.

#### "SURPRISING LETTER."

"BRADFORD LABOUR EXCHANGE AND TRADE DISPUTES."

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

BRADFORD, THURSDAY NIGHT.

"At to-day's meeting of the Bradford Trades Council the following letter, issued to employers in Bradford and marked 'Private and confidential,' was read:

"Dear Sir,—Since the Labour Exchange opened on Feb. 1st, 1910, there have been two disputes in the woollens industry. During the progress of both unfortunate occurrences some employers applied to the Labour Exchange for men, and in both instances we were prepared to help them all we could in accordance with the regulations of the Labour Exchanges Act. May I appeal to you that, as matters have now resumed their normal course, that I may be favoured with your orders for men, women, boys and girls?"

"It seems to me there will be work-people whom it will be beneficial for you to get from us, and seeing that we are prepared to help you

trade during troublesome times, I believe some reciprocation of our efforts may be shown by you giving instructions to your foremen to apply to us for labour now that trade has resumed the normal course. I may state that we have all kinds of textile workers registered here, and many other classes of workers. If you care to avail yourself of this genuine offer to help you, I should be glad to place the entire services of the Labour Exchanges at your disposal. Secretary."

"The letter was not discussed."

It seems the good I.L.P.s and trade unionists of Bradford were too dumbfounded to even talk about it. These much-lauded institutions (that through the enumeration and classification of the unemployed) were laying the foundations of the Socialist Commonwealth, according to the very practical statesmen of the I.L.P., turn out to be what we have always said they were. "One of the measures that may engage the attention of Parliament is that concerning Labour Bureaux—which again is typical of the true Liberal policy of serving the masters. Labour exchanges, when controlled by the Government, directly or indirectly, become recruiting offices for black-legs." So ran the warning to the working class in our issue of March, 1909. No gift of prophecy was required to perceive what would be the upshot of this "palliative." Merely a little of the much despised "Socialist theorising" based upon the facts of capitalist society—that was all.

What then, were the facts bearing upon the creation of and administration of Labour Exchanges? Are they not that working folks in order to live are compelled to sell themselves piecemeal; and may only do this when non-workers—capitalists—can make a profit on the deal? That further, the workers seek the highest possible wages and their employers the highest possible profits, and as a consequence, share a relation of now subdued, now open hostility? That through the Liberal and Tory parties, and their general control of Government, the employers effectively control these agencies for the sale and purchase of labour-power?

Our bit of theorising, the correctness of which is amply proved by the above cited news item (without detailing the cases we have previously published), simply consists, then, of the "one and one make two" calculation that, with the purchasers of labour-power in control, the Exchanges must inevitably be used in the interest of these and against the interest of the sellers—the wage-workers. The whole thing is simple enough, and one must be blinded indeed by the love of popularity or by capitalist claptrap, if one does not see through it. Here are a staff of managers and clerks anxious to keep their jobs and consequently forced to do the bidding of and seek to ingratiate themselves with the powerful ones of the earth—with those who have the dispensing or withholding of jobs and favours. What wonder, then, that they do all that they can to assist the employer when he is abandoned by his workpeople? What wonder then that they hunt up blacklegs and strike-smashers and act as procurers for the masters?

The employers make their little calculation too. Say they to themselves, "If hands register at the Labour Exchanges it is because they have a difficulty in getting employment. These people are in a bad way and only too glad of a job below the rate of wages prevalent. We'll pay these people accordingly." And they do, too! as many poor, struggling working men and women have found to their cost.

True, as Mr. D. G. Shackleton pointed out at the Trades Union Congress, you can't expect the Exchanges to be run to deal with 11 million workers as though they were seeking the best possible conditions for 2 million trade unionists. Well, hardly! no more than you can expect the average labour (mis)leader to explain honestly the workman's position when he is virtually pleading for strike-breaking agencies founded by and administered for the exploiting class when he is defending his place and pelf.

For remember that Mr. Shackleton, like the rest of the Labour M.P.s, "Socialist" or otherwise, owes his seat in Parliament to the Liberal support he gets—and earns and pays for by leading the workers to slaughter.

Fellow workers, how much more of this devilish game are you going to stand? J. H.



## OFFICIAL NOTICE.

[All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions for the Socialist Standard, articles, correspondence and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed, The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 10, Sandland Street, London, W.C., to whom money orders should be made payable. The Socialist Standard is published on the last Saturday in each month. The meetings of the Executive Committee are held at the Head Office every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m.]

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## The Socialist Standard,

SATURDAY OCT. 1, 1910.



## THE TRUE MEANING OF THE "LABOUR UNREST."

Across the deadly dull controversy dragging through the columns of the capitalist Press, as to whether "Free Trade" or "Tariff Reform" is best for the workers to starve under, have flashed two intense rays of light exposing the bed rock position of the working class in modern society.

In two different places, under different external conditions, but in essentials remarkably alike, we have seen two sections of the working class facing the same alternatives of either accepting conditions imposed by the masters—their employers—or trying how long their slender resources and desperate fortitude can stand against the masters' piled-up wealth.

At Cradley Heath the chainmakers, described by a Liberal newspaper as forming "the classic sweated industry," have been locked out because they declined to accept the conditions their employers put forward, i.e., to work for another three months at the old rate of wages. In other words the chainmakers are deliberately deprived of the means of living unless they accept the master's terms.

It is sometimes urged that if the chainmakers were organised into a trade union they could effectively resist the employers' attempt to starve them. But leaving out of consideration for the moment the fact that they are unable to pay any subscription, however small, to an ordinary trade union, the statement is fully refuted by the experience of the boiler-makers.

Here is one of the strongest unions, containing a large proportion of the men working at the trade, yet faced with the same position as the chainmakers—starvation or submission to the masters' terms.

When to these cases are added the signs of trouble in the Welsh coalfields and the Lancashire cotton towns, the fact continually insisted upon by the Socialist—that the means of life are owned by the master class—is brought into clear light.

Whether the workers are organised on the economic field or not; whether belonging to the (so-called) skilled or unskilled division of labour; whether the employer calls himself Liberal or Tory; whether it is under Free Trade or Protection, in every case and in every circumstance the worker is the slave of the employer, and must remain so while capitalism exists. And it is just this slave position that it is all important for the worker to study, while it is, on the other hand, just the one the employers and their agents seek to hide.

The *Daily Express* shrieks about the sacredness of the employers' "contracts" when the men go on strike against a lowering of wages, though this "sacredness" has a curious knack of disappearing when the masters tear the contracts to shreds, from one end of the country to the other, by locking the men out.

The *Daily News* wails for a "public" arbitrator, as though the "public" were something apart from employers and employed, and in nonchalant evasion of the fact that the chain-

makers' trouble flows out of a Board of Trade arbitration.

Explanations of the "unrest," as it is termed, abound on all sides, each differing from the others, but all having the one common quality of revealing nothing beyond their writers' ignorance of the facts, or their feverish anxiety to conceal them. The significant vote of the boiler-makers points clearly to the proximate cause of the trouble in that trade. The Edinburgh agreement, that "triumph of arbitration," has been found to act completely in the masters' interests and against the men. The clause stating that *under no conditions* shall the men go on strike has been taken full advantage of by the masters, who have reduced actual wages, increased the "speeding up," and generally worsened conditions all round. When the men have protested long-drawn-out conferences have enabled the masters, as the *Daily News* puts it, to "turn an awkward corner."

A series of such arbitrations has at last convinced large numbers of the men that it is hopeless to expect any settlement of disputed points in their favour under such a scheme. Hence the taking of matters into their own hands, and the "sectional" strikes in the various works and yards.

More important still is the fact that, at present at any rate, the men are refusing to place the power of extending such an agreement in the hands of their officials and leaders, who are so ready to once again act on the employers' behalf and against the men. The unity of the capitalist Press—Liberal and Tory alike—with the officials in condemning this action of the men is sufficient evidence of how well those officials consider the interests of the masters, and of the masters alone.

But, as if this were not sufficient, those leaders have gone out of their way, in another place, to give further proof of their duplicity in these matters. At the Trades Union Congress held in Sheffield a stranger to their little ways would have imagined that this fundamental question of the slavery of the working class would have formed the chief topic of discussion. So far, however, from this being the case, we find that the greatest attention was given to the question "How shall we save our salaries?" Nay, more than this, one of the first questions discussed was whether the Congress should have its opening ceremony presided over by a large employer whose workpeople were at that very moment on strike against his conditions of employment. Certainly a protest was raised by a few delegates, but the fact that an employer was asked to preside at all shows how completely these "representatives" are the agents of the masters.

The surprising vote of the boiler-makers however, warned them not to play the game too openly. So a little farce was arranged and Earl Fitzwilliam, the employer referred to, while not abating one jot from his position, agreed to the matter being placed before an arbitrator. After this "victory" the delegates sat down to listen meekly to the platitudes of this "representative" employer.

It fell to Mr. Shackleton to give the premier illustration of "how to do 'em down." A delegate had asked the awkward question how it was that the Parliamentary Committee were opposed to the premium bonus system, while a member of the Committee took the chair at a meeting in favour of the system at which Mr. Balfour and Sir Christopher Furness spoke. The member referred to was Mr. Shackleton. The chairman, asked when this happened, but the delegate was unable to tell him, and then Mr. Shackleton brazenly denied having taken the chair in such circumstances.

Had the delegate who raised the point been able to carry his memory back to Dec. 1908 he might have refuted the lie with the following from the *Daily Telegraph* (2.12.1908).

In the chair was Mr. Shackleton, M.P., one of the most conspicuous Labour members in the present House of Commons; the chief address was delivered by Mr. A. J. Balfour, in his capacity as president; and the vote of thanks was presented by three gentlemen representative of widely apart walks of life, namely, Sir Christopher Furness, one of the great captains of industry, Professor A. C. Pigou, and Mr. Amos Mann.

The occasion was a gathering of the so-called "Labour" Co-partnership Movement, whose fraudulent character was clearly shown in the

SOCIALIST STANDARD of Feb. 1909.

As if to add further evidence to our case against the "Labour" M.P.s, Mr. Shackleton also stated that "they had done as much as was possible to keep in the front the fact that the payment of members and of returning officers' expenses would not meet the case." (*Reynolds' Newspaper*, 18.9.10.)

But the cloven hoof was fully exposed when discussing the question of "bringing pressure to bear on the Government." Shackleton's hysterical defence of the Liberal Government could not have been surpassed by Lloyd George. And it is just at this point that the Socialist statement applies.

The master class are able to dictate life and death to the workers because, through their control of political power, they have control of the armed forces that are used to preserve the property of the master class against the workers. Hence the supreme importance to the master class of keeping the latter ignorant upon this matter. This accounts for the treachery of those who, posing as "leaders" of the working class, use all their influence to keep that political power in the masters' hands, and fight against the Socialist propaganda, that shows to the workers the reasons they must capture that power.

The vote of the boiler-makers, even if only a temporary phase with them, is a good sign as showing the decline of the "leaders'" power to mislead. Let every working man and woman study Socialism and the way to their emancipation will be clear.

## CONFUSION IN CONFERENCE.

## SO-CALLED SOCIALISTS MEET AT COPENHAGEN.

CONFUSION was the keynote of the proceedings at the International Socialist (?) Congress held recently at Copenhagen. A Babel of tongues spoke every language but that of Socialism. The "impracticable theory" of rallying the workers to the fight for emancipation has been deliberately discarded in favour of the "sane and more practicable policy" of devising ways and means of begging, coaxing, threatening reforms and palliatives out of the capitalist class. The

## RED INTERNATIONAL.

founded by Marx and Engels for revolution has been so completely prostituted to reform and compromise, that the bulk of the delegates at the Conference, and the "Labour" Press throughout the world, recognised unhesitatingly that the British Section were the "most advanced, the most revolutionary" of all the delegates. What unspeakable tragedy! The most uncompromising fighters for Socialism were these representatives of the Labour Party, the I.L.P., the S.D.P., the Fabian Society, and the Trade Unions—the chief wire-pullers of wire-pulling organisations and the arch-betrayers of working-class ignorance; the very scum of the "Labour" political inferno, sitting cheek by jowl with the embodiments of bourgeois arrogance, conceit and condescension. The British delegation had twenty votes at the Congress, ten being controlled by the Labour Party and the remainder being distributed among the other organisations of the section. Thus the open defenders and supporters of the Liberal Budget, Taxations of Ground Values, Reform of the Poor Law, Free Trade and other allurements of their Liberal masters, were the "revolutionary" element of the Copenhagen Congress. What other proof is needed that the International Socialist Congress has been

## CAPTURED BY THE CAPITALISTS?

But the "revolt" of the British delegation against several "important" resolutions was not due to any sudden Socialist conviction. These "uprisings" had a much more mundane cause. The resolutions "rebelled" against embodied the ideas of measures either passed or promised by the *British Liberal Government*. And the truth of that allegation was openly insisted upon by the various British delegates who addressed the Conference and the International Bureau.

And needless to say, the calibre of the other delegates was similar to that of the British Section. The German Social-Democratic Party,

steeped to the hilt in a Parliamentary reform policy; the Austrian Social-Democratic Party, an effective mixture of such elements as the British Labour Party, I.L.P., and S.D.P., whose greatest achievement is supposed to have been the obtaining of the suffrage for some hundreds of thousands of Radical Labourites (all Social-Democrats); the "Unified" French Socialist Party, in which the bourgeois Republicanism and political diplomacy of Jaures has obliterated revolutionary action; the Russian twin "Socialist" organisations whom bitter experience of the oppressors has not saved from the fatal mistake of seeking

## "BLESSINGS FROM ABOVE";

the Italian Socialist Party, still boastful of their "unity" of all factions (including those who have grown tired of fighting for Socialism); all these and many more such sections formed the material of which this apology for a Socialist congress was made up. It is a sad reflection that, except the S.P.G.B., every body that contained the germ of Socialist existence has been swallowed up by that congress of compromise and confusion. In France the Guesdists, who at one time, in spite of their small number, wielded enormous power for Socialist enlightenment, are absorbed by the reformist followers of Jaures and Vaillant; in Italy the United Party has forced its compromising policy on its members with the result that the Socialist element has been swamped; in Russia the Parliamentary possibilities for the "political genius" have caused wholesale desertion of the Socialist flag. Even the once alleged Socialist organisation, the S.L.P. of America, has given up every vestige of independence, and sent its delegate—to whine to the S.P. of the same country for fusion—and to be

## SNEERINGLY SPURNED!

Now to survey the happenings at the Congress. The delegates sat in a hall decorated with banners indicative of the character of the Congress. "Religion is a Private Concern"; "A Maximum Working day of Eight Hours"; "Disarmament Means Peace"; such were the mottoes they bore.

The boast of Stauning, the Danish president, that his party showed by their 100,000 votes and 28 successful candidates at the last parliamentary election, and their 23 newspapers with 120,000 subscribers, their triumphal work for Socialism was exceedingly hollow in face of the speeches of the Danish delegates and the resolutions they supported. Vandervelde's opening speech on behalf of the International Bureau was a glorification of the un-class-conscious labour movement. Instead of deploring the fact that in every country represented at that Congress the ascent of the Parliamentary reform policy has in the last three years more than in any other similar period,

## PLAYED HAVOC

with the honest proletarians seeking enlightenment, he crowed over the fact that 33 countries and 8 million followers were represented at the Congress, and that in many countries the "Socialist" parties have experienced a large influx of votes and "Socialist" representatives since the last Congress.

The agenda was one that would be considered mild by a Radical Free Trade gathering. The main items were the Unemployed Question; International Arbitration and Disarmament; International Results of the Legislation for the Protection of the Workers; Organisation of an International Pronouncement against the Death Sentence; Question of Co-operative Movement; International Trade Unionism and the General Strike.

Some of the arguments on the questions on the committees and in open Congress will be of interest to our readers.

In the committee on Disarmament and Peace, Vaillant (France) said: "The abolition of war will naturally only be made possible by Socialism, but for that we cannot wait. It is therefore necessary to make a stand against armaments and militarism in the different Parliaments." Keir Hardie said: "If now the German and English Governments came to an understanding about the limitation of armaments it would not be due to their

## LOVE OF PEACE,

but because these two countries can no longer bear the burden of armaments. The workers are

strong enough to prevent war. On the day of the declaration of war the workers must cease work. That is not a general strike. It is also necessary to make a stand against the vile action of the capitalist Press." Bruce Glasier said: "Christianity has been unable to abolish war. There are already Socialists who are prepared to sacrifice their principles of peace. The fighting instinct can unmistakably be found in some Social-Democrats. That is the animal instinct which one must overcome. Let us unfold the most far-reaching agitation for peace, then the United States of Europe will soon become an accomplished fact." Radec (Poland) said: "The attitude of *Vorwarts* and of the German Social-Democratic Party in Parliament concerning the Anglo-German arrangement is nothing short of an alternative to the defence of naval armaments advocated by Hyndman and Co. which has generally been condemned." Hillquit (U.S.A.) said: "No word has yet been uttered concerning the main point. The debate has until now only been a continuation of the Stuttgart discussion on anti-militarism." Dessin (England): "We must

## ABOLISH CAPITALISM

to ensure peace. But we can already now contribute towards a diminution of the dangers of war, and that is what the resolution of the British delegation is aiming at."

In the Committee on the question of the Co-operative Movement the following speeches are characteristic of the main position. Vandervelde (Belgium) said: "The criterion will be that the co-operative societies must be organisations in the class-struggle. The German workers will see to it that the co-operative societies remain Socialist. The German co-operative societies propagate Socialism secretly; those in Belgium openly." Guesde, speaking for the French minority said: "The conquest of political power is necessary. Only when a co-operative society furthers this object it is of use, that is to say it must not be ignored but given its right place. In Germany the co-operative societies are limited liability companies with small shares, but where-in consists their Socialism? We have been told that the profit is distributed according to consumption, but that is capitalist. We must not only tell the workers to join those societies but to use them as a means in the class struggle." Whiteley (England) said: "English co-operative societies have already proved useful in politics, and have joined our Parliamentary committee. Socialists have until now done nothing for these societies, but will do something for them in the future—that is, carry Socialism into their ranks."

The first resolution proposed in open Congress was one on unemployment. It started out by stating that unemployment is

## INSEPARABLE FROM CAPITALIST PRODUCTION

and proceeded to say that it could therefore not be a question of abolition but of amelioration. For this purpose the Congress demanded from capitalist Governments, statistics; wages as paid by co-operative societies; support during industrial crises; safeguarding of political rights; support of all arrangements for finding employment; diminution of unemployment by legislation; compulsory support of unemployed. Dr. Adolf Braun (Austria) moved the resolution with the approval of all delegates except the British. On the motion of its adoption Macdonald said: "For the British Section the present Resolution is too weak. We would have liked to have seen the right to work at fair wages insisted upon. The British section is especially of opinion that the capitalist method of production is to blame for unemployment, and that it therefore must be made responsible for its consequences." Quelch said: "If we go home with this resolution we shall considerably damage our own movement for the amelioration of unemployment, the resolution being too weak."

On the "unity" question De Leon declared that "After the Amsterdam Congress we, the minority, the S.L.P., declared ourselves prepared to negotiate with the S.P., which they have declined to do. Therefore this Congress must decide that the other party is obliged to negotiate with us. In the name of the S.L.P. I may declare that we are

## READY FOR NEGOTIATION

with the S.P. There are prospects of a powerful

movement in America, but it cannot flourish because we fight each other." Hillquit replied: "The Socialist Party has long become an object of unity and asked all Socialist bodies to unite. All accepted our invitation except the Party—let us say De Leon—(Laughter). Since then we have made rapid progress, most members of the S.L.P. having joined us. Now, Comrade De Leon, if you are prepared to abandon your last creation, the I.W.W., and your non-Socialist tricks, no conference or convention is necessary for that fusion." To which Berger (Milwaukee) added: "Ten years ago we had two organisations, each with 5,000 members; now the S.P. have 5,000 paying members, the S.L.P. less than 1,000. That is nearly unity. The remaining 1,000 are welcome if they will give up fighting the Trade Unions. We shall solve the fusion question within the next three years because then only De Leon will stand outside our party. You see we are working strongly for unity." (Loud Applause.)

The resolution on Disarmament and Peace was, like all the other resolutions put before the Congress,

## FULL OF CONTRADICTIONS

and inconsistencies. It started with explaining the necessity of war under capitalism, and finished with a demand for suppression of hostilities by the democracy, and giving directions to the International Bureau how to act in case of a declaration of war. Socialism would stand a poor chance indeed if it were as impossible as this resolution. Vaillant and Keir Hardie moved the following amendment: "The Congress regards the General Strike as a means for the prevention of war, more especially a refusal to assist in the production and transport of arms and ammunition." This was rejected by a vast majority and the amendment carried.

During this debate Keir Hardie, replying to an attack by Ledebeur on the British delegation, stated that the English Labour Party is against war and militarism. Ledebeur had taken the attitude of the I.L.P. to be that of Hyndman and Quelch, but his Party had nothing to do with these. If his Party had supported the Liberal Budget that was

## NOT A QUESTION OF PRINCIPLE, BUT TACTICS.

On the question of unemployment Hardie said "In our country we are very near a radical solution of unemployment. We should find ourselves in a difficult position in face of the English Government with the resolution passed by the Congress, hence we ask the substitution of our resolution for the one adopted."

In spite of the contradictory nature of the composition, agenda, speeches and resolutions, there is no mistaking the object and effect of the Congress. The German S.D.P. strained every nerve to make the Congress an advertising medium for their approaching General Election. They were in a position to obtain sufficient support to get the resolutions on the main questions shaped so as to appeal to the German Radicals and bourgeois Democrats who have grown tired of the orthodox Radical party and want a real, live reform party. Luckily for the German delegation, no other section but the British was out for a similar purpose. In France, Austria and Italy the elections have recently taken place, but in England a General Election is not at all unlikely within the next three years. Hence two rival "Socialist" parties fought each other tooth and nail, the German anxious to pass resolutions acceptable to Radicals; the English striving to prevent the passing of anything the Liberal Government could conveniently act upon to the detriment of the Labour Party, I.L.P. and S.D.P. The German delegates expressed their gratification at the results of the Conference, and congratulated themselves on having gained

## A HUNDRED THOUSAND VOTES

through its agency. So another congress has come and gone—in the way the capitalists delight to see—in confusion. But, despite the forces of reform and reaction, cunningly striving to turn the working class upon itself, the future belongs to the Revolutionary. The ever-growing economic pressure must eventually demonstrate the utter futility of reform, and at the same time unmask those who advocate it. May the awakening come soon. H. J. N.



## SOCIALISM AND WORK.

WHEN surveying the sordid and miserable life of the toiler, and the conditions under which he is compelled to live to-day, one thinks of what those conditions might be, what they should be, and wonders why it is that so many of the working class have even the smallest interest in anything outside and apart from the all absorbing struggle for bread.

A slight examination of the product of the medieval craftsman reveals the individuality of the worker embodied in his production, and shows that the workman of old had knowledge of his craft, taste and living interest in his work apart from the idea of wages.

To-day all such interest is crushed: pleasure in work is impossible. The modern factory—usually a modern hell—has no place for art or for pleasure: its object being, not the production of beautiful things or of useful articles, but the wringing of profit from the exertions of the flesh and blood machines—the wage-workers—through the monopoly of the machines of iron and steel.

In the "golden age of labour" the craftsman owned his tools and used them for the production of beautiful and useful objects, which were his when made. It was to his credit to put the best that was in him into the things he produced, and all things combined, not only to give him opportunity, but to encourage him to exercise thoroughness in the construction, and to give his work that expression of his individuality which is the very essence of art.

He was his own master, free to embody his own ideas in his own product in his own time, not dogged at every step by some impatient holder of a stop watch, and forced to inscribe on a time-sheet the moments of each stage of production.

How different is the position of the modern toiler (craftsman he cannot be called). Labour to-day is divorced from art. The labourer has neither right nor interest in the object upon which he labours. It matters not to him whether the article produced be ugly or beautiful, useless or useful. He is an automaton hired to do a certain task; the slave of a machine speeding at a pace he can scarcely travel. He finds no art, no pleasure, in his work, and outside his work—what? Sordid surroundings from which he cannot dissociate himself if he would, with neither leisure to cultivate the science of his craft, education to understand it, or cash to obtain the necessary instruction.

All along we find that modern commerce and the turmoil of the market has been the deadly foe of pleasure in production. We produce to capture the markets of the world. Nation competes with nation to manufacture, not the best, but the cheapest—the shoddy and the most deceptive. Thousands of us are engaged in the production of useless and harmful things, pandering to the insipid taste of the luxurious idler, applying our energy, not to create things of joy and comfort for ourselves and our fellows, but in order to obtain the food necessary to maintain the spark of life within our wan and pallid skins.

Can art flourish in such an environment? Can one expect anything from such bestial conditions except the weakly grotesque in design and ornament, the puerile in fiction, poetry, and the drama?

To make really beautiful things the worker must be interested in his craft, must throw himself into his work and labour for the delight of that labour itself. He must have leisure to study his craft and the education to understand it. His life and surroundings must be pleasant, and conditions must obtain such as are impossible under a system of wage-slavery, where men are mere profit-grinding machines—cogs in the mechanism of industry and commerce.

We are forced to recognise that capitalism in every part of its system is rapidly killing all idea of art, crushing out every desire but that of gain. To make profit becomes its sole aim, and none but the thoughtless and the ignorant, apart from the few who sponge upon the wealth that contains the blood of the toilers, can longer defend it.

To raise the workers from the level of the

machine and to place them in the position of men is the object of Socialism.

We who are Socialists are not satisfied with our condition, bound, as we are, slaves to a merciless machine. It is our desire, not to return to the method of production of the Middle Ages, but to obtain the happiness and comfort, and the security of life enjoyed by the craftsman of that day, by making ourselves masters, collectively, of our tools, material and time, shapers of our own destiny.

Society is divided into two opposing camps. The one for the retention of the capitalist system of class domination, with a proletariat without joy in labour, without comfort in rest. The other the camp of the Socialists, who desire nothing but the abolition of that system, knowing that with its overthrow the one restraining force is removed that prevents the onward movement towards that society wherein work will be a comfort and not a curse, and all shall be united in a communion of hopeful and pleasurable labour.

## ASKED &amp; ANSWERED.

ANOTHER FOOTSORE PILGRIM HALF-SOLED-AND-HEELLED WHILE HE WAITED.

"Philos Sophia" writes as follows:

"I shall be glad if you will throw a little light on a few points on which I seem to be in darkness."

"The value of labour-power is determined, as in the case of every other commodity, by the labour-time necessary for the production, and consequently also the reproduction, of this special article." ('Capital,' p. 149. Karl Marx.) (1) Am I correct in understanding this to mean that the value of labour-power is determined by the labour-time requisite for the production of the labourers' means of subsistence?

"Suppose that in this mass of commodities requisite for the average day there are embodied 6 hours of social labour, then there is incorporated daily in labour-power half a day's average social labour, in other words, half a day's labour is requisite for the daily production of labour-power. This quantity of labour forms the value of a day's labour-power or the value of the labour-power daily reproduced. If half a day's average social labour is incorporated in three shillings, then three shillings is the price corresponding to the value of a day's labour-power." ('Capital,' p. 151.) (2) How is this three shillings determined to be the value of a day's labour-power? Is it determined by the supply of or demand for labour-power, or by the labour-time required to produce three shillings?"

If you carefully study the first argument of your second quotation you will find that it completely answers your first query. Your supposition is quite correct.

Regarding your second query, the three shillings is not the value of the day's labour-power, therefore nothing determines that it is. It is "the price corresponding to the value." It is an equivalent—in one respect only: they both have embodied in them the same amount of labour-time. But the value of each is contained in each, and it is only the likeness of each that is reflected in the other.

Supply and demand do not enter into the question of value at all, but only regulate the exchange ratio of the moment. When the supply of any particular commodity is greater than the demand for the same, that commodity will tend to sell below its value; that is to say, the commodities for which it would exchange would on the whole, have less labour-time embodied in them. When, however, the supply is less than the demand, the exchange ratio of that commodity rises. These fluctuations gravitate about the point of value, and cancel one another, and the net result is that commodities in the long run exchange at their value.

Value is only the embodied labour (measured by time) in an article of utility, therefore the only thing that can determine that the value in the three shillings is equal to the value in the day's labour-power is the fact that the same labour-time is necessary to produce either.

A. E. J.

## THE CYCLE "MAKER."

Nor an uncommon sight within the past few years was the cycle "maker" riding one machine and carrying the frame of another on his back, en route to the enamellers' and nickel-platers' shop. Usually a racing man, belonging to a cycling club and possessing some mechanical knowledge, he was able to turn it to account and "make" machines for his fellow clubmen. At the time of the boom of '96-'98, a large number of machines were put on the road by these small makers. Buying the fittings, tubes, saddle, tyres, etc. from the factors and their agents, they executed the necessary brazing, filing and erecting in cellars, sheds, back kitchens, and other places more or less suitable, yet they were able to turn out very creditable jiggers, and, moreover, they reaped a very substantial monetary advantage.

The appliances were few and not costly. Beyond a vice, gas-brazing hearth (usually a tray filled with coke), and a few files, no other tools were necessary. With the development of capitalism these small makers are fast disappearing, and in their place have arisen the cycle engineers, who have brought to their aid every appliance of ingenuity and science, availing themselves of automatic machines uncanny in their movements and amazing in their output. An outcry (emanating from the capitalist Press of the cycle trade) for the standardisation of bolts, nuts and fittings generally, was raised and met, with the result that the number of firms catering for the rider is gradually being reduced, and the amalgamation of the Edie Man factoring Co. with the B.S.A. Co.—together employing thousands of "hands"—means that the small manufacturer of fittings, like the small cycle maker, is being completely crushed out.

The slight mechanical knowledge imparted at the schools of to-day by engineering and drawing classes, is largely responsible for the leaning shown by lads towards the engineering trades. But the youngster on entering the factory is soon made aware that he is allowed, much less required, to learn but very little of the trade. Placed under a tyrannical foreman (picked out from his class by virtue of his "directing ability," i.e. his hustling powers) the lad is put to work a machine previously set up by a charge hand (a prospective candidate for foreman's honours) and simply performs an operation on some part of a cycle fitting; and he keeps on "a doin' of it" all day long, week in and week out, so long as he can be exploited. It will be understood that machine-tool manipulation is not the only process required to turn out bicycles—the filing and fitting is so simplified by systematic handling and constant repetition that waste is eliminated.

Upon reaching the age of 25 or so our cycle hand is ripe and fully qualified, from the capitalist point of view, for investiture with the order of the "sack." Younger and cheaper men are pushing him out, or he is getting "slack," and sees the futility of awaiting promotion. So here is the result of ten years' cycle "making." During this period he may have learned to work some three or four machine tools, or, to be correct, to finish a few kinds of repetition work on them, and possibly to fit or assemble parts at the bench. So sure as slack times occur the older "hand" is discharged to swell the ranks of the unemployed, with only the poor chance of getting a job as an engineer's improver left him. Should he, however, gain the favour of his foreman he may be placed in the tool room, to devise means of quicker production. And the results of his observations and experience are the extension of output per "hand," and consequently the reduction of the relative number of workers required.

Fellow worker, so long as the master class own and control the means and instruments of production, so long must the present system of wage-slavery exist. Having only your labour-power to sell you are compelled to slave, and cut one against the other to get a job, receiving on the average no more than sufficient to reproduce your efficiency, and the spectre of unemployment hovers about you always. As the cause of this is private ownership of the means of production, the remedy is to establish yourselves as owners in common of those means.

SIOKE.

## THE REVOLUTIONARY PROPOSITION.

(Continued.)

WE have seen that the present social system does not nor can be made to, fulfil its function of facilitating the satisfaction of the material needs of the people; we have seen that a new social system, shaping itself from a basis of common, instead of private, ownership in the means of wealth production, is necessary to correct the faults of society so pregnant with misery for the only useful class in the social organism.

The evidence points to the desirability of such a change, at least from a working-class point of view, and those who agree will next ask if it is possible to carry the Revolutionary Proposition into effect, and further, how it is to be done.

Those who advance the Revolutionary Proposition claim that, much more than being possible, it is inevitable. It would be possible were it dependent upon, and within the powers of, human agency; but it is inevitable because it is the work and product of forces superior to human direction, forces which make men mere instruments in their ceaseless operations. To show that the proposition is possible might still leave some doubt or argument resting upon the vanity of human wishes and the frailty of human endeavour. But to show that it is inevitable at once disposes of the question of possibility. It does more: it supplies the cold, strictly scientific reason for its consideration. A whole train of arguments may be raised upon any appeal to justice or humanity or other sentiment, but prove that it is inevitable and the only question left is how to forward or delay it.

We learned that the basis of society is the condition of ownership of the means and instruments of producing the necessities of life, and we have reduced the Revolutionary Proposition to a proposal to change the present property condition for a certain other.

This property basis depends upon the stage of development of the means of producing wealth. For instance, in a society in which the chase was the chief resource, and the bow and arrow and the spear the means of procuring sustenance, we find the land held in common by the whole community. The means of producing wealth being so crude and ill-requiting, there is no possibility of a surplus, or advantage arising from its monopoly. So it must await the development of the means of production—through domestication of animals and agriculture let us say—to a point of great fertility before land assumes the desirability which leads to private ownership.

On the other hand the very simplicity of the crude weapons of the chase places them within the reach of all, and while no barrier to private possession, would, in the last analysis, prevent their monopoly by a class. The means of producing wealth must wait until they reach a high state of development, until they become so costly as to be beyond the means of many, and so complicated as to require more than one pair of hands to operate them, before they pass out of the possession of those who use them, and become a means of enslavement.

In this whirligig age no one can be unaware of the constant change and development of the means and methods of production and distribution. Invention follows invention in such hot-foot pursuit that one dares not give instances, because they are out of date almost before the ink is dry. Is it to be expected, then, that all this change in the productive forces of society is to be without effect upon that which has so far evolved with it? To say so is to say that there exists complete harmony between the property relation and the productive forces.

This harmony can never become an accomplished and stable fact so long as classes remain, for while the development of the productive forces is outside human control, the property relation and the social structure which arises therefrom is the direct, conscious work of men. The class in power cling to old forms and old institutions, and uphold them with every force at their command, while the industrial evolution sweeps on, to raise up another class with opposing interests against them. The social edifice becomes out of harmony with the method of production, its institutions become bonds to

industrial and social progress.

For instance, the feudal system, with the bulk of the people chained in serfage to the land, its guild restrictions in the towns and its hampering laws and customs and class privileges (for the wrong class, of course), fitting as it may have been when it first arose, was antagonistic to the rising system of capitalist production, which demands the absolute freedom of the workman to sell his labour-power as the first condition of its existence, and a plentiful supply of labour-power in the labour market, together with the free play of competition, as essentials of its development.

The discord exists at the present day. That inherent human hunger for material wealth which is the motive power of the development of the productive forces of society, has led the present ruling class to develop (in the sense of adopting improvements mainly thought out by their hirelings) industry beyond the capacity of their social system. The motive of production is profit. Profit (together with rent and interest) is that portion of the workers' product which their wages do not suffice to buy back. With the improvement of machinery this surplus product which is filched from the workers increases, and its disposal becomes the real problem of the capitalist class. It must be sold—but where? The bulk of the people are workers, and their purchasing power, relative to the total mass of the goods poured into the market, is steadily decreasing (because their output increases while their wages do not).

An increasing foreign market is an absolutely indispensable condition of the continuance of the capitalist system, whose very life depends on the disposal of its surplus products. But the foreign market has almost touched the limit of expansion. Every civilised country is entering the world-market with goods to dispose of—the surplus sweated out of their wage workers.

The day when the world market is incapable of further development must (at the latest) be the day of the downfall of the capitalist system. The unsold surplus is incompatible with further production. It must accumulate in the warehouses, glut the markets, and finally bring production to a stop.

This difference between the wage and the product is increasing by leaps and bounds, and it is helped by another factor. As the relative output compared with wages increases the number of workers compared with capitalists also increases. Competition leads to monopoly, and on the way indulges in the playful pastime of pitching the smaller capitalists out of the frying-pan into the fire. Particularly in times of industrial crisis the number who lose their seat at the capitalist table is very great. They are beaten down into the ranks of the workers, and with their children are compelled to sell their labour-power in order to live. In this way control of industry is falling into fewer and fewer hands, while the number of those whose interests are served by the present system are becoming less in relation to those who would benefit by change.

Again, it is part of the work of the evolutionary process always to make the class which is next to attain power, conscious of the effort required of it. This consciousness (since there has been class division and class interests in society) has been an essential condition of social change, because, while the development of the property relation upon which the social structure is raised, is the work of men governed by their material interests.

That they are not free agents in the matter is, of course, perfectly true, for each class has had to await a certain development of the industrial means before it could rise to dominance; but the seizure of the means of living, upon which the successive classes have based their power, must always have been the work of men who understood that it served their interests to do so—men, therefore, who were conscious of their interests—and the safeguarding of their position by legal and other restrictions is a conscious endeavour to entrench themselves in power.

As each social system is dictated and upheld by certain interests, it requires the rise of opposing interests to overthrow it. These interests must be developed before they can be perceived. This development is the work of the evolution of the industrial process. For instance, the development of the means of production—the

evolution of the tool into the machine—raised up by the side of the feudal nobility, a class of manufacturers, whose interests as such were in opposition to those of the landed aristocracy. As time went on the interests of the two parties became more divergent, more acutely antagonistic, and with this the rising class grew more conscious of their interests. In this way the industrial development made the class conscious material which was to effect the social change.

Similarly to-day development of the means and instruments for producing wealth is making sharper the antagonism of interests between the two classes in society, and making clearer the workers' perception of that antagonism. The old idea that "Capital and Labour are brothers" is incompatible with increasing wealth of the capitalist and the deepening poverty of those who labour. The growing barriers against members of the working class climbing into the class above; the withdrawal of the capitalists from even the remotest contact with actual production and the substitution of managers and foremen in their stead; these things draw clearer the line between the classes and show the workers that they alone produce all the wealth of society, that they are the only useful members of society, and finally, that they are robbed.

Then the trend of industrial evolution reveals the underlying principles of social development—the whence and the whither is known—consciousness of the class position ripens into consciousness of the way to emancipation, and the worker becomes a Socialist, destined to be the instrument of a social revolution.

All this shows that a social change is inevitable, but how do we know that this change will take the lines of the Revolutionary Proposition? In the first place we know that the new social system must be based upon common ownership because the industrial development is not raising up a new class in society, but is bringing to consciousness the working class.

Previous to the last social revolution it was the capitalist class that came to consciousness and power, wresting control from the aristocracy. But now it is the working class—the last class—who are being prepared by the evolutionary process—and it could not be otherwise, since there is no other class left.

When the working class capture power, therefore, any form of exploitation becomes impossible for there is no class to exploit. The sole reason for private ownership has gone. Indeed, if it is granted that another class is to come into power, that class must be the only other existing class—the working class. And if the working class come into power, there is no other conceivable social basis they can adopt than that of the Revolutionary Proposition—common ownership of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth.

To sum up, the realisation of the proposition is inevitable for the reason that the present system cannot continue because it contains the ineradicable contradiction that its mainspring is the production of profit or surplus-value, which surplus-value, accumulating, must throttle production; and because the projected scheme of things is the only possible alternative. And the evolutionary process—which makes the Socialist—is preparing the revolution.

A. E. JACOB.

[To be Continued.]

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED—

"Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)  
"Weekly People" (New York).  
"New York Call" (New York).  
"Gaelic American" (New York).  
"Western Wage-Earner" (Vancouver, B.C.)  
"Civil Service Socialist" (London).  
"The New World" (West Ham).

## ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

H. (Philadelphia). The economic organisation of the working class is to be Socialist on *every* line, not industrial. For articles on Industrial Unionism see the following issues of this journal: October and November 1906, April, August and November 1907, and July 1909.



# S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR OCTOBER.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	9th.	16th.	23rd.	30th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30 F. Fairbrother	A. Barker	H. Cooper	H. Martin
"	7.30 J. Fitzgerald	J. Kemble	H. Joy	J. Halls
Brockwell Park	3.0 H. Joy	J. Fitzgerald	H. Martin	F. Leigh
Edmonton, the Green	8.0 H. Martin	A. Anderson	J. Fitzgerald	H. Newman
Finsbury Park	3.0 J. Fitzgerald	A. Anderson	H. Joy	H. Newman
Forest Gate, Sebert Rd.	11.30 F. Dawkins	R. Fox	A. Jacobs	J. Kelly
Fulham Cross, Dawes-rd.	"	A. Barker	J. Halls	A. Barker
Kennington Triangle	11.30 J. E. Roe	H. Cooper	R. Fox	E. Fairbrother
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30 J. Halls	F. Dawkins	F. W. Stearn	R. Kent
"	7.30 A. W. Pearson	H. Newman	A. Jacobs	H. Martin
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30 R. Fox	A. Jacobs	J. Halls	J. Fitzgerald
Parliament Hill	11.30 F. W. Stearn	T. W. Allen	J. Roe	T. W. Allen
Peckham Triangle	7.0 A. Anderson	H. Joy	R. Fox	F. Stearn
Stoke Newington, Ridley Rd., Dulais.	11.30 A. Jacobs	E. Fairbrother	J. Kelly	W. Pearson
Tooting Broadway	"	H. Cooper	J. E. Roe	A. Barker
"	7.30 H. Joy	F. Leigh	H. Newman	H. Cooper
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	11.30 H. Martin	H. Newman	A. Pearson	F. Stearn
"	7.30 F. Dawkins	T. W. Allen	A. Anderson	T. W. Allen
Walthamstow, Hoe-st. Stn.	8.0 R. Fox	F. W. Stearn	T. W. Allen	A. Jacobs
Wandsworth, Buckhold Road	"	J. Kemble	J. Fitzgerald	J. Roe
Watford Market Place	"	F. Leigh	R. Fox	J. Fitzgerald
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30 J. Kelly	F. W. Stearn	H. Newman	R. Fox
Woolwich, Beresford-sq.	7.30 F. J. Kourke	A. Pearson	C. Ginger	A. Anderson
"	11.30 T. W. Allen	H. Joy	J. Fitzgerald	F. Dawkins

**MONDAYS.**—Islington, Highbury Cnr. 8.30. Waltham Green Church, 8 p.m.  
**TUESDAYS.**—Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m. Earlsfield, Putney Bridge-rd., 8.  
**WEDNESDAYS.**—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Waltham Green Church, 8. Plaistow, Greengate, 8.  
**THURSDAYS.**—Battersea, Princes Head, 8.0. Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Earlsfield-rd., 8.  
**FRIDAYS.**—Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, St. Loy's rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30. Ilford, Seven King's Station, 8.  
**SATURDAYS.**—Earlsfield, Magdalene Road, 7 p.m. Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m.  
 East Ham, Ruskin Avenue, 8. Streatham, Fountain, 8 p.m.

## SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

10, SANDLAND STREET, LONDON, W.C.

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**BURNLEY.**—G. Schofield, Sec., 23 Mitella-street, Fulledge, Burnley. Branch meets every Sunday at 11 a.m. at above address.  
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**TOTTENHAM.**—Sec., 2 Caistor, 8 Colsterworth-rd., High rd, Tottenham. Branch meets Mondays at 8 p.m. at High Cross Institute, 314 High-rd.  
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## THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

### OBJECT.

*The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.*

## Declaration of Principles

### THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

#### HOLDS

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

That the Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

### APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

To the Secretary,

..... Branch, S.P.G.B.

I hereby declare my adhesion to the above principles, and request enrolment as member of The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

Signature.....

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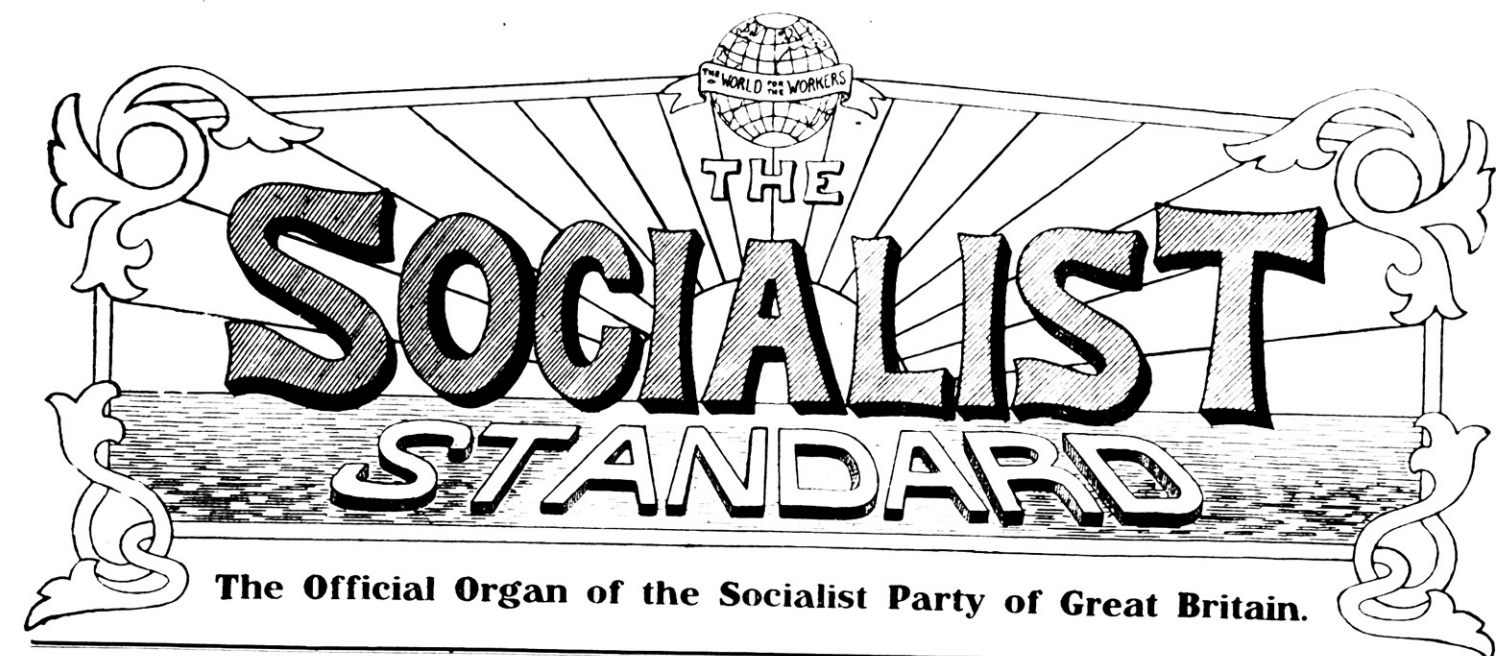
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No. 75. Vol. 7.]

LONDON, NOVEMBER 1910.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

## THE OSBORNE JUDGMENT. WHY SOCIALISTS DO NOT DEMAND ITS REVERSAL.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald tells us that the reversal of the Osborne Judgment is to have first and last place in the Labour Party "platform" at the imminent electoral contests. In the bye-election at Walthamstow the question is kept well to the front by the labourites, while the party, after its characteristic humbugging manner, has begun a campaign with the object of reawakening working-class and other interest, of raising funds, and advancing of its new programme—its precious "Right to Work" Bill meanwhile taking a back seat.

On the other hand we find a great many workers—and trade unionists to boot—following the lead of the *Daily Express* and its kind, who protest that they "wouldn't mind supporting a genuine Labour party but are not going to pay for Socialists in Parliament." All this topsyturvydom is very pitiful, but more provocative of curses than of mirth.

Briefly, the Osborne judgment declares that political action is outside the scope of legitimate trade union activity and that consequently the members may not be levied for such purpose. Further, the edict reads, the pledging of members of Parliament to the service of the bodies that send them there is contrary to public interest and unconstitutional.

As regards the legal aspect of the matter we have no opinion and, at the present juncture, very little interest. But as Socialists and workers, with the Socialist outlook upon politics and working class interests—some of us, perforce, trade unionists—we necessarily have very decided opinions as to the worth—or worthlessness—of the so-called Labour Party and the proposal to reverse the judgment.

Whatever doubts we may have as to the motives behind and the influences brought to bear to secure the change in the labour political situation, we cannot do otherwise than welcome that change. In the first place we find trade unions unsuited from their very nature for the conduct of political activity in the interest of the working class. In the second place we have nought but contempt and hatred for their political manifestation—the party of Shackleton, Hardie, Snowden and Crooks; the party that has, not inaptly, been dubbed the tail of the Liberal dog. Our members who are trade unionists are consequently glad; while there is every reason to believe, from what we know of the rank and file—the boasted one and three-quarter million members of the Labour Party (which we regard as one of the greatest stumbling blocks in the way of Socialism) has been dealt a very severe blow.

**The Function of**

**Trade Unions.**

Now the trade union is primarily organised to protect and fortify the workers of a trade section, or of a group of more

or less allied trades. Its methods are economic, not political; the cessation of, or threat to cease, production and distribution, the strike, direct pressure upon or resistance to the employers, are its weapons—their effectiveness is not in question here. The members join for trade purposes—for the regulation of the hours and conditions of employment—for the friendly society features—and a very large number because it is a trade condition: membership is compulsory. But membership for political action is certainly not the rule, even if it ever occurs; and it is clear that the unions could never have arisen had the contrary been the case. The only unity in trade union ranks is and has been on the economic plane. What economic interests have joined together politics tear asunder—for the simple reason that all shades of political opinion meet in the economic organisation.

Any acquaintance with trade unionists shows the above account of the nature of the movement and membership to be a correct one and also reveals what comparatively little real support the recent political manifestation—the Labour Party—has among them. This being the case, it would be surprising if some did not use their utmost endeavours to stop their political exploitation by the I.L.P. and the gang of place-hunting tricksters who now have fastened their hungry jaws upon the vitals of the Labour movement. We for our part cannot

**We are** quarrel with them so far. We claim that for a class in the position of the modern working class, who have no hope save in their own growing knowledge of their position in society and their perception of the path they must follow, only that political support actuated by such knowledge can have any value. Indeed, financial or other assistance which is not motivated by the class-conscious conviction is likely to be a source of embarrassment, if not of positive weakness and danger, for the reason that it might lead the workers to rely upon strength they do not possess. Therefore freedom of judgment in matters political is essential to the progress and security of the working-class movement. The logic of this is that those responsible for the Osborne judgment have done no harm to the working class or to Socialism, but rather the contrary; and if by any fortunate chance their action could result in the blotting out from the political field a thing their Liberal paymasters are already preparing to prevent by means of a measure for the "Payment of Members" of the "labour" leeches who are leading the cry for reversal, then indeed the good they would have accomplished for the workers would be uncalculable.

That the astute Ramsay MacDonald and the rest realise how unreliable a support they have in the average trade unionist is manifest from their very insistence upon reversal. Reversal

of the judgment, of course, means restitution to the governing bodies of the unions of the power to levy their members for the maintenance of the Labour Group—the power to collect monies from unwilling members. But it means more than this. The maintenance of the Labour Group might be assured by the projected measure for the payment of members and election expenses; but maintenance is not the only thing that worries the tricksters. Nor is it the matter of principle, for if they were elevating coercion to the dignity of a principle it would be the first principle that MacDonald, Hardie, Snowden, Thorne & Co. ever yet fought for—as history shows.

No, what these men fear is the growing consciousness of the working class, as manifested in the increasing power of the S.P.G.B. They know that they have built up their position on the ignorance of the working class, by obscuring the fundamental nature of the antagonism of interests between the workers and their masters, and by denying the existence of the class struggle. Upon this foundation of deception, fraud and ignorance they have been able to lift themselves to self and place, coining these who undertook the situation, as also those who opposed them without understanding, into contributing to their support. But so soon as the financial barrier to contesting elections is swept away by payment of members and election expenses, the Labour ghouls lose the monopoly which their control of the trade union funds has hitherto given them. They may find opposition, then, even in their own camp, and seats given them by working class ignorance with the Liberal squint may be wrested from them by working-class ignorance with the Tory squint. And more even than this, they dread the day when their position shall be challenged by the candid dates of the Socialist Party, taking their stand upon the class struggle—a day which will undoubtedly be brought nearer, firstly by the Osborne judgment, and secondly by the measure which is to follow it. Those who scheme to run with the hare of Labour and hunt with the hounds of capital have a pretty lively foreboding that they will catch it in the neck when the issue is clearly put before the workers—for or against the abolition of the master class.

So Payment of Members—so long one of the Labour planks—is rejected with scorn now that it is about to materialise, and strenuous efforts are to be made to get Parliament to legalise the levies. At Walthamstow, where there is a bye-election impending, the local I.L.P. and Labourites are so threatened that if Sir J. Simon, the Liberal candidate, will not promise to support this measure, pledge the Government to reversal, or otherwise satisfy them, they will vote for the Tory! Well, which

**Choosing their Masters.**



**London School of Economics & Political Science 2007**  
**Socialist Standard 1910**



## OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions to the Socialist Standard, articles correspondence and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed, The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 10, Sandland Street, London, W.C., to whom Money orders should be made payable. The Socialist Standard is published on the last Saturday in each month. The meetings of the Executive Committee are held at the Head Office every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m.

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## The Socialist Standard,



TUESDAY NOV. 1, 1910.

## THE FRENCH STRIKE.

## IMPRESSIONS OF A MAN ON THE SPOT.

The present unrest among the French wage-workers, as with the increasingly bitter struggle for more wages in other countries, has been quickened by the general increase in the cost of living. In "Value, Price and Profit" the then prevailing Continental labour troubles were mentioned as being largely due to the depreciation of gold, and the endeavour of wage-workers to increase their wages in compensation for the reduced purchasing power of money. A similar thing is happening to-day, owing to labour-saving devices on the South African gold fields having rendered the ounce of gold the equivalent of a smaller amount of labour than formerly.

For a considerable time the railway workers, especially, have been in ferment. Many meetings have been held, and innumerable resolutions passed. The chief of their demands were (and are) the establishment of a minimum wage of 5 francs (barely 4s.) a day—a large number of them receive, in fact, as little as 5 frs. 75 (3s.) per day! The whole of their modest demands, and their entire procedure, were distinctly professional in character, despite the lying statements of the renegade Briand that it is a political insurrectional movement. Many hundreds of arrests have been made, nevertheless, and terms of imprisonment have fairly rained upon the unfortunate strikers. As a somewhat amusing illustration of the state of mind of the ruling class I quote the following incident from the police news of the paper *Le Journal* (Oct 18th).

"A prosecution was instituted by the prosecuting magistrates at the eighth *chambre correctionnelle* (police court) against the unfortunate Paul Boible, for carrying prohibited arms. In this case the prohibited weapon was—a corkscrew.

"If it was not an arm, what was the use of it to you?" asked Presiding Judge Flory of the accused.

"Why, *mon président*," replied the latter, "to uncork bottles!"

The novelty of this use for a corkscrew apparently flabbergasted the judge, for the accused was actually acquitted. The great majority, however, were not so fortunate.

It is characteristic of this republic of "Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité," that every movement of the workers for an increase in wage or a reduction of hours is declared insurrectionary in order to provide excuse for brutal repression. This is one of the reasons that the General Labour Confederation is given a revolutionary character that it does not really possess. At the same time, however, the purely economic movement is led at last to attack the minister (Briand in this case) who is most active against it. No doubt a very determined attempt will be made when Parliament assembles to secure the downfall of Briand and Millerand. Another cause

of misrepresentation, especially among "Industrial Unionists," is the fact that in France any strike for purely economic demands that embraces more than one section or establishment is dignified by the name of "General Strike," though it has nothing in common with what is implied by the English term "The General Strike."

In spite of the agitation among the railway workers during the summer, the Central Strike Committee which was formed hesitated to give the signal to strike owing to the unreadiness of the P.L.M. and Eastern lines, and to poor organisation generally. But the Northern company hastened matters by precipitating a strike at one of its depôts (which the men deliberately abandoned in order to be ready for the greater movement) and later by dismissing Toffin, the president of the Drivers and Firemen's Federation. A strike of the whole Northern system was then declared and acted upon without the order of the Central Committee. This was followed by the strike of the Western (State) railwaymen, and by the declaration of a "General Strike" by the Committee. Unfortunately, however, the strike was only partial on the remaining systems, and discouragement set in from the start.

The Radical Government, in their desire to serve their paymasters, added fuel to the conflagration by arbitrarily arresting ten of the men's officials. At the same time the Electricians of Paris came out, and were rapidly replaced by detachments of the Engineers Corps. At the time of writing most of the important generating stations around Paris are still being worked with the aid of soldiers. A "General Strike" in the building trade of Paris was also declared, but on learning of the resumption of work on the railways to-day the men in this trade also decided to return to work. In each of these cases the discontent had gradually been coming to a climax. All of them put forward definite economic demands, and none started with any defined political motive, notwithstanding the absurdities published by the Press. It was simply considered that the strike on the railways provided the opportune moment.

Despite the lies of subsidised journals the strike on the North and West lines was no fiasco. It was to a very large extent effective, though the work of the railways in difficulties was lightened by the reluctance of travellers to avail themselves of the few "expresses" then running and between three and twenty-four hours late. The ordinary slow goods traffic was completely at a standstill, and suburban season ticket holders are clamouring for compensation for their continued losses in to-day's papers.

The trump card of the Government has been the railway mobilisation order, in imitation of the Italian example. Nevertheless this did not give quite the result the exploiters hoped, probably because the French law had to be broken in order to mobilise the railway men.

During the agitation this summer the capitalist class were busy preparing measures to crush the strike that was threatened, and *La Guerre Sociale*, a sensational "direct action" sheet, having guessed that some attempt to mobilise the railway workers might be tried, proceeded to turn a more or less honest penny by reproducing an ordinary mobilisation call for 28 days, filled out ready to be sent to a railway worker, and which it claimed to have obtained clandestinely from the Ministry of War. As I already knew that railwaymen were legally exempted from the ordinary short term mobilisation calls *except in time of war*, I suspected the enterprising journal of "trying its arm" once more. Indeed, such an order would be useless to the Government in a railway strike, firstly because railway workers are legally and specially exempted; secondly because it allows a delay of 15 days before submission; thirdly because it instructs the men to join their corps (usually at a great distance) at a time when transport is unobtainable, and when they are required, not with their corps, but at their usual place on the railway! Surely enough, on July 6th a decree was issued by the Ministry to provide for a special mobilisation in case of need, under which the men may be called upon to present themselves on the day following the issue of the order at their usual place of work to secure the running of the normal traffic of their section. Very different from the *Guerre Sociale's* ridiculous version.

The railway workers have to a large extent ignored the mobilisation order on legal advice. It is claimed to be illegal because it has not been passed by Parliament, and because the law allows 15 days to elapse before insubordination occurs. Thousands of torn mobilisation orders have been addressed to the despicable Briand in reply to his lie that practically all the railway workers had responded to the mobilisation order. Only the blacklegs of the first day reappeared the day after with the mobilisation scarf on their arms, reinforced, however, later, by a number of half-hearted strikers glad of such a plausible excuse.

Nevertheless it cannot be denied that the use of the soldiery to guard and run trains, together with the mobilisation order and the lies of the Press, considerably discouraged the strikers, and the Central Strike Committee, realising the impossibility of victory, have decided on the day of writing, to return to work in good order. The strike has been a splendid demonstration and will doubtless not be entirely in vain. Few, in fact, expected the movement to assume the proportions it did; but weak organisation and lack of resources told their sad tale in a steady weakening of the strikers' position.

The French proletariat have had another lesson in the supreme need for organisation. An active minority cannot be depended upon to carry the mass with it. Moreover, it is again made evident that control of the political machinery and forces, and their use (legally or not) by the capitalists, is the enemy's strong position which must be captured at all costs.

The very prevalence of the propaganda of "sabotage" (the destruction of machinery and the precipitation of accidents) is evidence of the lack of sound organisation. In the present instance it has mainly the effect of lightening the traffic and difficulties of the companies, and strengthening their hands, while it provides the great excuse for repressive measures. As a means of securing a standstill upon the railway systems it is obviously an utterly ineffective substitute for sound organisation among railway workers. In other countries of Western Europe, indeed, the economic movement has already passed through a similar period of rudimentary organisation and tumult. Yet it is precisely countries like France, where the organisation of labour lags behind other countries, and where primitive organisation brings with it the inevitable corollary of "sabotage" and futile street fights, that are taken as having the most advanced forms of economic organisation, models that the Rip Van Winkles of "Industrial Unionism" in Great Britain try to imitate. Like the petty bourgeoisie, their ideals are behind them, and they think they are advancing when in reality they are walking backward. F. C. W.

## ARE YOU THERE?

A Grand Social and Dance will be held at Grovedale Hall, Grovedale Road, Upper Holloway, on Saturday evening, November 19th, at 7 p.m., under the auspices of our Islington Branch. The Branch does these things so well that there is no need to enlarge upon the matter of the quality of the entertainment. All who can should attend, so as to assure the event being a success. Tickets 6d.

## ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We regret that owing extreme pressure upon our space replies to several correspondents have had to be held over until next month.

The receipt of a copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

## RECEIVED—

"Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)  
 "Weekly People" (New York).  
 "New York Call" (New York)  
 "Gaelic American" (New York).  
 "Western Wage Earner," (Vancouver, B.C.)  
 "Civil Service Socialist" (London).  
 "The New World" (West Ham).  
 "Freedom" (London).

## THE REVOLUTIONARY PROPOSITION.

(Continued.)

Our investigation has shown us that a change in the social system, along the lines of the Revolutionary Proposition, is inevitable, and the next point of interest is, how is the change going to be established?

It is not desirable to go into the complexities of the question as to the importance the human will bears in relation to the process of industrial development and social change; still, it may be remarked that, as the very foundation of this development is the desire (inherent in all life) of human beings to live, the social evolution, with its necessary revolutionary phases, is not independent of the human will—the unconscious, and in a manner involuntary, "will to live."

With regard to that development of the productive process, upon which all social advance must wait, there exist no means of holding this in check. Even were the dominant class conscious of the forces which are hurrying them on to their doom, still they could raise up no effective barrier against them.

If those who own the means of production could light upon some way of arresting the progress of the development of machinery and methods; if they could obliterate that ingrained desire for wealth and security out of which all productive activity springs, they might, even at this late hour, materially prolong the period of their domination; but that is impossible, and so the evolutionary process sweeps them on and down.

The fate of the capitalist, as we all know, who will not or cannot adopt the successive improvements of productive means when the powers prescribe, is obliteration. Improved methods become due directly they mean bigger profits, and those who do not take them up are quickly out-competed and supplanted by those who do.

There is that in the system itself which makes its fortunate and favoured ones contribute by their every action to the undermining of their position. They cannot move without advancing the development of the productive process, hence production cannot take place without aiding in the perfection of the means and methods by which it takes place.

Much, therefore, as the evolutionary process depends upon the human will, it is exactly as far beyond human control as is the "will to live," and its course is the comparatively smooth course of evolution. It goes on in spite of all human effort, or rather because in the very nature of things human effort, directed by the uncontrollable "will to live," can only result in advancing its progress.

Were this industrial development under the control of the human will it would cease to be evolutionary. It would be controlled in the interest of the strongest social faction, and if any progress at all were possible it could only be by a series of revolutionary steps, as when one class overthrew another.

This, indeed, is exactly what takes place with regard to the basis upon which the social structure is raised (private property in the case of the present system) and the laws, customs and other institutions which compose that structure.

The very desire for material wealth which urges on the development of the means of producing it, at the same time makes men institute, cling to and fight for every known means of retaining it; hence the sources of wealth are seized upon by the strong when they become possible means of exploitation, and a social system arises corresponding to the method of production.

We must be quite clear upon this important point at the risk of repetition. Between the evolutionary and unconscious process of development which made the sources and means of living possible instruments of exploitation, and the conscious acts of seizure which converted those sources and means into actual instruments of exploitation lies the difference between evolution and revolution. No human effort could prevent the discovery and application of the arts of domesticating animals and of agriculture, of smelt-

ing iron, and the general development that lifted human labour to such a plane of fertility as to be capable of yielding a surplus or profit. In this men were unconscious instruments. But the seizure of the labourer, the land or the means of production when this evolution had so far developed as to render their monopoly a matter of great advantage to those who could accomplish it, was an act dictated by consciousness of opposing interests. It resulted from force, and could have been resisted by force. By force it is maintained against the growing powers of new interests, and it is—within certain limits, of course—subject to the human will.

It is clear, then, that, since the property condition upon which the social system is based is not the outcome of the evolutionary process, although conditioned by it, we must not look to evolution to change it into something else. It is an artificial barrier erected against all those interests which conflict with the interests of the class which rule under it; therefore it must be swept away by the conscious effort of those whose interests it opposes—the working class to wit.

How this is to be done depends, of course, on the nature and source of the power with which the system is upheld.

Property, as we know, is protected by the police and other instruments of the law. In addition (though this fact is purposely obscured by the ruling class), the armed forces of the nation stand ready to support the police should occasion arise—as is at times proven when the workers come out on strike. These are the forces with which the present property conditions, and hence the present social system, are maintained.

These forces naturally are controlled, as are the rest of us, by those who hold their means of subsistence in their hands—the capitalist class; and the means through which they exercise that control is the political machinery.

Fraud and false pretence have played a great part in the maintenance of every parasitic class in its position, but it is doubtful if any previous system of exploitation made greater use of deception and shams than the present, at all events in this country. The political machinery of to-day lends itself to a remarkable extent to this policy of bluff, and it is stretched to the utmost to hide the nature of the capitalist State. In particular it is made to obfuscate the struggle between the classes, and, most important in the present connection, to disguise the fact that the armed forces of the nation are a coercive force apart from the people.

It appears that because the people have the vote they have control, and that all things are done in their name. This false appearance, of course, tends to keep them quiet and makes them much more easy to govern. Could they see that the police and the naval and military forces were a power of coercion apart from themselves, they would quickly begin to ask at whose behest these forces coerce and why, and who is it they coerce and again why. They would realise then that "law and order" simply means the submissiveness of the working class, and that the armed forces of the nation exist merely to maintain this state of submission. Government would then become a much more expensive and difficult matter.

That perfection of the means and methods of production; that organisation of industry which was necessary for the new social order, has already taken place. In their time the capitalists have been a useful and necessary factor in production, and so long as any other class than the working class was necessary to production the time was not ripe for the social revolution, for only chaos could attend the abolition of any necessary factor. But to-day practically only the workers have anything whatever to do with production. The development of the joint stock company has utterly removed the owners of the means of production from the field of industry, and their places are taken by paid servants—who, no matter what wage they get, have to sell their labour-power, and therefore are workers. Since nobly but the working class to-day are engaged in production, the transformation could take place without a hitch, for the element to be dispossessed and got rid of is not the element which uses the means of production, but merely the class which clog their operation, and will not allow them to be

used save in their own interests.

Only the political machinery maintains the now useless capitalist class in their position of rulers and exploiters. They are bolstered up by the forms of "legality," and the forces of coercion which political power gives into their hands. By this means they are able to maintain the private property basis of society long after the development of the productive wealth has fitted it for communal ownership.

It is clear then that the social revolution implied by the Revolutionary Proposition must be preceded by a political revolution, that the political machinery—the machinery of Government—must be wrested from the capitalist class.

The means to this end exists in the form of the ballot. The only factor missing is the knowledge on the part of the working class of their class position and their class interest. That this knowledge, this class-consciousness, should lag behind the development of productive means and methods is quite natural, and is consistent with the Marxian view that it is the economic environment which determines men's consciousness. Men generally cannot conceive the capitalist class as useless and parasitic until they are useless and parasitic. They cannot understand the practicability of a new social system until its need has been demonstrated by the evolutionary process rendering the old system altogether inadequate.

The political revolution, therefore, must in its turn be preceded by a working-class mental revolution. Hitherto the workers have viewed politics through their masters' eyes. While it was still the hope of every working man, the dream of every working youth to climb eventually to the ranks of the masters; until the line between the classes was clearly and definitely drawn by the historic processes and the antagonism of interests brought into the broad light of day, it was inevitable that the proletarian in politics should be a workingman with a capitalist mind, clinging like grim death to the capitalist social system. What else had he to cling to? What other system did he know of to put in the place of the present?

The first work therefore, of those aiming at the realisation of the Revolutionary Proposition (which is Socialism) is to help on that mental revolution out of which alone can come the political revolution essential to changing the social base. When a man has undergone this mental revolution he needs no shepherding into a political fold—he ceases to be a sheep. His adherence on the political field is assured us. No wile or lure can entrap him; no promise of reform or palliation can alienate him from the cause of his class. He wants the new social system, knowing that that alone will bring him one iota of benefit, and he will not vote for anything else.

On the other hand, until the worker understands his class position and class interests his vote, even if obtained, can be of no use to the revolutionary party, for a vote is merely the index of what is behind it. As the forms of legality behind which the master class shelter themselves are but the cloak of the forces that support them, so the vote is simply a record that in a resort to force "I make one." Time was when every quarrel was referred to the sword. The superior claims of property and production have altered all that. Modern industry demands greater stability, hence the force for or against is registered by the vote. Still force is the real thing, and must be behind the vote as the gold behind the banknote.

For this reason only the revolutionary conviction can make the revolutionary vote—the only vote that will be backed up by force in support of revolutionary action. The spreading of this revolutionary conviction, the making of this class-conscious material which alone will assent to revolution, and its organisation into a political party, becomes the immediate task of those seeking to establish the Revolutionary Proposition. As that class-conscious working-class political organisation grows in strength, it must proceed to capture the political machinery, in order to decree the dispossession of the master class and the end of the reign of private property in the means of life, and to support that decree by all the forces, armed or otherwise, of the Socialist Commonwealth.

A. E. JACOB.

[To be Continued.]



## PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P.

Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P., has, we understand, sailed for a three-months' trip to the United States and Canada, chiefly with the idea of forming a Labour Party in the latter country. As we should not like our Canadian fellow-workers to fall into Mr. Snowden's trap we give the following details of his political career.

Mr. Snowden, as most people are aware, is a strong opponent of the "drink traffic." In common with most temperance fanatics, his language—as the following quotation shows—is almost puerile in its violence and intemperance. At a meeting of the Bradford Band of Hope Union he said:

If we had not a drink-sodden democracy we should have an intelligent democracy; and an intelligent democracy would very soon solve its industrial and social problems. (*Yorkshire Observer*, March 10, '09.)

The absurdity of the lying statement which serves to express Mr. Snowden's contempt for the class on whose backs he has climbed to his present eminence, is only equalled by the gratuitous insult offered to the very men he is, as Labour M.P., ostensibly representing.

Mr. Snowden in 1908 appeared to have a touching faith in the good intentions of the leader of the Liberal party. Writing in the *Christian Commonwealth* in December of that year he said:

There is nothing of the hypocrite in Asquith. He never prevaricates, as most of his ministers do, to escape from declaring the fulness of an unpopular truth. I do not believe there is a more honest man in politics today than the present Prime Minister.

Does Mr. Snowden still think there is no hypocrisy, no prevarication on the part of Asquith over the "Lords" question? Perhaps, however, there is more underlying this fulsome flattery than meets the eye. It will be remembered how John Burns defended the action of Asquith in using the military to shoot down the miners at Featherstone, and how he was subsequently rewarded for this and other services rendered to the Liberal party with a seat in the Cabinet. Mr. Snowden, taking a leaf out of Burns's book, has also defended the methods adopted by the Liberals at Featherstone and Belfast. Writing in the *Sheffield Guardian*, Aug. 23, '07 he said:

Therefore, in any case, in the Belfast case for instance, the employment of the military must be justified on the circumstances of the case. There is one lesson of this tragic affair which the workers should learn. We are hearing from some quarters the usual violent denunciation of the Government and the capitalists as murderers. Mr. Birrell is being put in the same chamber of horrors as Mr. Asquith, who happened to be the Home Secretary at the time of the Featherstone riots. The Labour and Socialist movement has got beyond such wild, irresponsible talk as this.

The last General Election gives irrefutable evidence of the same devious methods on the part of the member for Blackburn. The following was written by him a few months previous to the election:

The action of the Labour Party in Parliament on the Budget has not tended to mark off that party as something essentially distinct from the Liberal Party. Unless the Labour Party has a distinct point of view on all public questions, unless it can show that it is anxious to go further than, or in a different way to, the Liberals, there is no reason for its existence as a separate party. (*Christian Commonwealth*, November 3, 1909.)

This extract, taken in conjunction with the following item relating to the election at Blackburn, condemns both Snowden and the Labour Party out of his own mouth.

On Jan. 4th Mr. Snowden and Sir Thomas Barclay (the Liberal candidate) addressed a great anti-Lords demonstration, two halls being used simultaneously, the speakers crossing over from one to the other. At this demonstration Mr. Bond, president of the trades council, "appealed to the electors of Blackburn to send two Progressives to Parliament" (see *Northern Daily Telegraph*, 5.1.10.)

On other occasions (see *Blackburn Weekly Telegraph*, 8.1.10.) Mr. Snowden urged that the second vote be given to Sir Thomas Barclay, and he boasted in the *Labour Leader* of 21.1.10. that the advice had been "generally followed" and had resulted in 11,238 "splits" between himself and the Liberal.

Snowden's snobbish appeal for special treatment for imprisoned suffragists on the ground that they were middle-class women may be cited finally as showing how anti-working-class he is.

## OUR AMAZING PROSPERITY.

FLARING headlines in the Press and busy politicians on the platform have been drawing attention to the fact that British Trade during the first eight months of 1910 showed an increase of 83 millions compared with 1909. The report of the Inland Revenue Commissioners (C.D. 5308) stating that the amount assessed to Income Tax rose from 980 millions in 1908 to 1,010 millions in 1909 has also been widely boomed. This evidence of capitalist prosperity has led to great exultation amongst the Free Traders in the Liberal and Labour parties.

The income upon which the capitalists pay taxes has advanced from 833 millions in 1901 to 1,010,000 in 1909, yet during this period (the Report upon Changes in the rate of wages [C.D. 5,324] tells us) the workers lost over five million pounds in wages, and in the "Abstract of Labour Statistics," the Board of Trade states that the prices of the necessities of life have risen greatly in the last decade. Unemployment, too, has been very much felt by the workers. In the August issue of the *SOCIALIST STANDARD* were given the returns of the Government's Labour Exchanges from their opening till the end of May. Below are the figures (from the "Board of Trade Labour Gazette") since.

	No. of applicants for work.	Vacancies filled.
During June	151,556	41,650
" July	118,588	33,813
" August	124,085	31,257
	394,229	106,720

It must be understood also that even the vacancies filled largely represent temporary employment. During June 2,325 persons were supplied with casual work at the Liverpool Agricultural Show. Fruit and pea pickers were sent to Stourbridge and Worcester for a short time. Some of the cloth porters who applied at the special labour exchange in Manchester were given makeshift jobs at the neighbouring warehouses—amounting to eight days during the month! The holiday traffic on the railways, too, occasioned a little extra assistance. In July 2,500 raspberry pickers were engaged at Blairgowrie, 500 strawberry gatherers at Crossford (Lanark), and some at Ipswich, Cork and Worcester. In August 2,022 persons were taken on for fruit picking. Unemployment still remains widespread, and when the temporary and seasonal work gives out the discarded workers will have nothing but the bitterest prospects for the winter. Letters have appeared in the Press from numerous applicants whose names have been on the Exchange register for months, but who could get no work of any description. Many applicants have also made public the dastardly treatment received upon going to situations the Exchange officials recommended. People have been sent to distant places where they found the employment far different to that promised, and they have had to submit owing to being stranded far from help. The Exchanges have brought together a vast mass of labour and provided the masters with the opportunity of getting cheaper hands, which recent events have shown they have been quick to take advantage of.

According to an interview with the Fabian director of Labour Exchanges (Mr. W. H. Beveridge) published in the *Daily Express* (16.8.10) a system of co-operation between the Army Council and the Board of Trade is being arranged for the purpose of making the Exchanges recruiting centres for the Army. Captivating illustrated posters and alluring leaflets are to be on hand, so that when the applicants come for work they may be prevailed upon to enlist.

The Free Trade Press have been to the fore lately with the old "decline of pauperism" cry. (The *Manchester Guardian* of Sept. 30th, for instance, says that "Pauperism is at a lower ebb than has been known in modern experience." This is a deliberate lie.) A study of the Government's own publications shows how deceiving a cry it is. The ruling class, being anxious, of course, to hide the real results of this system, do not usually publish figures giving the total number of persons receiving Poor Law relief during the year. They merely tell us how

many get relief on a particular day. But they made an exception once. In the "Board of Trade Labour Gazette" for Feb. 1909 they stated that 2,076,316 persons had received Poor Law relief during the past year. Besides this, there were 117,157 pauper lunatics and, in the metropolis alone, 199,145 casual paupers.

The half-yearly statement of the Local Government Board (No. 242) says that the total number of paupers (excluding lunatics and casuals) relieved on Jan. 1, 1910 was 17,011 less than on Jan. 1, 1909. But the number of indoor paupers has almost doubled since 1872, and was 4,698 higher than for the previous year. The 1909 figure is the highest on record. The total for indoor and outdoor together, the report tells us, is with one exception greater than in any year since 1872. The number of pauper lunatics has increased by 1,632, casual paupers by 7,981, compared with Jan. 1, 1909. The pauper children rose in number from 242,546 on July 1 of last year, to 254,411 on Jan. 1 of the current year. In the L.G.B. 1910 report (C 5,260) John Burns points out that "the number of adult able-bodied paupers was higher than in any previous year." The latest figures for this year are given in the "Labour Gazette" for Sept., which states that compared with July the number of paupers in August increased by 3,321. Compared with the previous August there were 987 more indoor and 4,738 less outdoor paupers. The report of the L.G.B. for Scotland shows that the total number of paupers increased by 2,054 last year. Figures for Ireland are not to hand.

While, therefore, there has been an unparalleled increase in indoor pauperism, the number of outdoor paupers relieved on a certain day has declined by a few thousand compared with the year before.

For many years the ruling class have done their best to prevent people from having any relief whatever by refusing outdoor relief and directing applicants to seek admission to the "house." The application of this workhouse test has proved a good deterrent; the brutal conditions in the workhouse coupled with the almost instinctive hatred of the toilers for it have helped the capitalists to prevent the figures rising proportionately to the growth of destitution. That the figures for indoor paupers have so greatly increased despite this shows how awful becomes the lot of the workers as this system develops. This cunning scheme for keeping down pauperism is made plain in the 1909 Report of the L.G.B. (C.D. 4786). To quote one of many admissions, the Board's inspector for the Eastern counties says: "I can confidently affirm that a large number of those now on out relief would have departed empty had the workhouse test been applied."

When dealing with the comparative statistics of pauperism, we must also consider the fact that on March 31, '10 (so the L.G.B. Report for that year says) there were 617,494 old age pensioners. Many of these had previously had Poor Law relief. Yet taking the most optimistic figures the number of paupers dropped but a few thousand. Remember, too, that pauper disqualification for pensions (i.e., relief since 1908) kept very many from applying for Poor Law relief; this aspect is also treated in the Report for last year which says (p. 45): "The decrease of pauperism in the small towns and rural districts is partly due to the Old Age Pensions Act; although it did not come into force till Jan. 1 1909, it was the desire of the Guardians to try and keep old people above 70 years of age from coming under the Poor Law so that they might not be debarred from receiving pensions," and on p. 51: "The decrease in pauperism generally is doubtless due to a partial extent to the passage of the Old Age Pensions Act. Those persons verging on the age of 70 are doing everything possible to preserve their qualification for pensions, and the sons and daughters having in view the hope that the old folks will be able to stand alone, are now making some effort to keep their parents going until they are qualified by age."

The Old Age Pensions Act (with the abolition of the pauper disqualification from Jan. 1 next) was passed because a general re-organisation of the machinery of the Poor Law made that necessary. Relief based on the Act of 1834 had become too expensive for our lords and masters. Economic pressure is now forcing wage-slaves to fling their horror of the workhouse to

the winds and apply for relief. On the one hand if the Guardians grant a family out-door relief its small extent makes it possible that they would have to give some measure of in-relief as well. How meagre the out-door relief often is may be gauged by the statement in the last Report that several of the persons who died from starvation during the year were in receipt of out-door relief. If, on the other hand, the Guardians grant indoor relief, they are faced with an expenditure of 13s. per head. The lack of workhouse accommodation is well known, and on this the Report says (p. 92) "As regards the Poor Law, the most common problem with which Guardians have had to deal during these periods of distress has been that of workhouse accommodation. Each day disclosed grave defects in this respect with our larger workhouses." By paying these veterans of industry a maximum of 5s. per week, the Government have acted well in the capitalist interest, and with an eye to the future, which looked ill for them in the steadily mounting figures of indoor pauperism.

That it was a question of cost actuating them in removing the pauper disqualification is shown by this from a Liberal journal: "A letter from the L.G.B. read at most Boards of Guardians yesterday foreshadowed an important Government step in reference to the Old Age Pensions Act. The department applied for a list of inmates and other paupers over 70 years of age and their cost to the union" (*Lloyd's*, 2.1.10). The poor outlook for the recipients of the much-belauded dollar has been testified to in the refusal in many parts of paupers to apply for pensions. They allege greater hardship if they exchange Poor Law relief for a pension.

That the evolution of capitalism means added poverty and pauperisation to the workers even the Government admit in their Blue Book in dealing with the results of legislation which that evolution has prompted (L.G.B. Report, 1910, p. 59). "The effect of the Wages Boards may be to do away to a great extent with the wretched practice of sweating. But from the strictly Poor Law point of view it is probable that a larger number may have to resort to workhouses. The reason is that employers will only engage those persons who are able to earn the minimum wage, the less capable ones who do not come up to this standard will drift to the Poor Law for support."

We may well look around us at some other instances of proletarian life in this age of "wonderful prosperity." The very issue of that Free Trade organ that gloated over "our booming trade," gave a typical instance of the murder of the toilers' children by modern capitalism. "At the Stoke Newington Coroner's Court Dr. Wynn Westcott invoked the aid of the Press to assist a starving family. He said that on the previous Wednesday he held an inquest on the three-week-old child of parents living at 7 White Hart Court, High St., Stoke Newington. It was an extremely hard case of honest poverty, as the father had had no work for a long time and only casual work for three years. Consequently the baby was starved and died and the mother was half-starved too. On the Tuesday before the child died, she had a crust of bread to sustain her the whole day while she did nine and a half hours washing to assist the home and it was only natural that the child could not get much nourishment out of that. The week before the child died the father earned 6s. out of which 5s. had to be paid for rent and it was paid; therefore it left a family of seven 1s. to live upon. He was informed that the home was clean and tidy but there was hardly a stick of furniture." (*Reynolds's* September 18, '10.)

The awful condition of the workers is illustrated by the case of the Cradley Heath chain makers. They spent much time and energy in getting the Trade Board's Act applied to their trade, and then found the Act gave the masters six months grace before the new terms began. During this time some of the employers tried to get their "hands" to agree to the old terms, but many large masters saw an opportunity of beating their smaller rivals out of the trade and so backed up the women financially. They urged the strikers to carry on the campaign against the "sweaters" and magnanimously declared they were willing to concede the wage fixed, namely, 2½d. per hour! This, too, is the same wage as is being demanded by the organised agricultural labourers on strike in Norfolk,

who get about 12s. for a week of 70 hours. The members of the Amal. Soc. of Railway Servants on strike in County Clare are also in receipt of this princely stipend. The terrible state of the workers in the "loyal" North of Ireland was depicted in the report of Dr. Baillie, the Medical Officer for Belfast, recently issued. The facts, denied by the prosperous mill-owners, were confirmed by the Public Health Committee after independent inquiry.

Most of the home workers are mothers, and although the trade has rapidly increased the workers have not felt any good effects from it. Many instances of the terribly low prices are given, such as embroidering 384 dots on cushion covers for a penny, it being difficult to finish 6 covers in a day. Making shirts at 6d. a dozen, pinafores 4½d., chemises 7½d., aprons 2½d. per dozen are other examples.

"From these very low rates of pay" says Dr. Baillie, "must be deducted the time spent visiting the warehouses for work, the price of the thread and the necessary upkeep of the sewing machines. After these deductions are made the amount left to the workers is so small as to make one wonder whether they are benefited by the work at all."

The departmental Committee appointed by the Home Secretary to enquire into the dangers arising from the use of lead, state in their report (C.D. 5,219) that under the modern commercial system it would not be profitable to stop using lead in pottery; and the murderous results of this rush for profits are thus stated: "In the first place the danger to the workers of handling raw lead, whether from lead poisoning or from general deterioration of health is very real. The danger to women workers" (who are quite as numerous as men, the report says) "in lead processes, whether it shows itself in lead poisoning or in increased liability to miscarriage, should be greatly mitigated." The way to mitigate it they say (not abolish it), is by increased inspection! In an appendix to the report Dr. G. Reid (Stafford) says that the mortality from phthisis among male potters is more than three times that among males otherwise engaged.

Modern slavery becomes so intensified that after the age of 35 is passed the chance of getting a job is precarious. At the International Law Association's Conference at the Guildhall (London) on August 3rd, "Sir John Gray Hill, of Liverpool, dwelt upon the fact that numerous employers refuse to have in their service elderly men and those suffering with a physical defect, and he contended that the state of affairs is worsened by the Workmen's Compensation Act, which makes employers chary of employing those who have lost the agility of youth." This attitude, too, has spread to municipalities. Mr. G. M. Gott, a member of the Hord Urban District Council, is reported by *Lloyd's* of Jan. 2 last thus: "When a man is over forty years of age he is not much use to anybody." He advocated appointing a young man as tramways manager. In a report on the work of the City of Westminster Labour Bureau, the superintendent stated that "it is increasingly difficult for men over 30 years of age to obtain anything like a permanent situation. It is possible that the Workmen's Compensation Act is responsible to some extent for the demand for labour under 20 years." In the L.G.B. report for last year, the Board's inspector for the Western Counties says: "Possibly there will be a revival in trade and correspondingly greater demand for labour, but the question is whether this revival will solve the difficulty of want of employment? I ask this question because not only has there been trade depression, but other causes have been at work. I refer chiefly to the introduction of machinery and the effects which the Workmen's Compensation Act has on older workmen; with regard to the introduction of machinery it may be that new avenues of labour will be opened up thereby. But as things stand at present machinery certainly replaces manual work to an extent which has not perhaps been fully realised. Thus young men, women and youths can now be seen working machinery and receiving wages considerably less than would be paid to men in former times who performed the work by hand. The general result is increased output and lessened employment of adult labour."

These admissions in a Government Blue Book are very significant, and evidence of their truth abounds.

Unemployment is a very real fact in the "skilled" workers' trade unions. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers in their 50th annual report state that last year out of an income of £339,406, they paid to their members £215,000 in unemployed grants alone. That the capitalist laws are baffled by the facts of proletarian life was shown by the Chief Food and Sanitary Inspector of Liverpool, who said at the Sanitary Inspectors' Conference on Sept. 1st: "In many parts of the country, unemployment, high rents, low wages, etc., tend towards a depraved social state and a common sequence was domestic overcrowding. Unemployment was one of the strongest foes to the work of the Public Health Department." Some of the appliances at the Machinery Exhibition at Olympia in September boded ill for the workers. A machine that could plane four sides of woodwork at one time and many other marvels were on view.

The economic trend found a witness in the report of the Home Office enquiry into bronzing in factories (C.D. 5,228). This points out that "machine work, besides being more cleanly with modern machines, is so much more cheaply and quickly done that hand bronzing cannot compete with it. For this reason some of the smaller printing firms have given up bronzing altogether and the work has become more concentrated in factories which have installed machines." The report also states that many diseases are caused by the conditions of the employment—such as colic, nasal catarrh, total wrist-drop and paralysis.

The fact that improved methods—used by the capitalist class—result in unemployment and misery was shown by the Organising Secretary of the A.S.R.S. (J. H. Thomas, M.P.) in his speech to railwaymen at Newton Heath. According to the *Labour Leader*, 12.8.10, he said: "If they took the whole of the railway companies and compared 1899 with 1907 they had carried 561 million tons more merchandise, and run 23 million train miles less, which meant that though they were handling a greater volume of traffic, there were 10,000 less men employed." The consolidation of forces that the workers have to fight is shown by the fact that whereas in 1845 there were 815 separate railway companies, at the end of 1908 there were 51, and some of these fast amalgamating. The speeding up of the toilers on the railways had a tragic commentary in the returns for the first quarter of this year, which reported 19 more persons killed than in the corresponding period of last year.

Throughout the country at present the workers are in conflict with the masters over arbitration, agreements and wages questions. The attitude of the wage-slaves is not, unfortunately, based upon a consciousness of their class position. The interests of employers and employed being in direct opposition, the policy of the workers must not be one of conciliation and arrangement. We must press steadily forward to the conquest of political supremacy, having "No compromise" for our motto. To-day the workers are industrially organised by the very mechanism of capitalism itself, with its system of division of labour in vast factories, where each detail operation is dovetailed into others. The workers must become supreme politically to the end that they may carry on this industrial process for themselves and enjoy the good things they have made.

A. KORN.

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" "	7.30 H. Joy	H. Martin	E. Fairbrother	R. Fox
Edmonton, the Green	7.30 R. Kenny	A. Pearson	T. W. Allen	F. Dawkins
Finsbury Park	8.30 A. Anderson	F. Dawkins	H. Joy	A. Anderson
Forest Gate, Sebert Rd.	11.30 C. Ginger	A. Jacobs	E. J. Rourke	F. Stearn
Islington, St. Thomas' rd.	7.30 T. W. Allen	R. Kent	C. Ginger	A. Anderson
Kennington Triangle	11.30 A. Barker	H. Martin	E. Fairbrother	J. Halls
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	" "	J. Halls	F. J. Rourke	F. Dawkins
" "	7.30 A. W. Pearson	F. Dawkins	R. Fox	A. Jacobs
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30 T. W. Allen	F. Leigh	A. Pearson	H. Joy
Parliament Hill	11.30 F. Leigh	J. Halls	T. W. Allen	J. Kelly
Peckham Triangle	7.30 F. Leigh	F. W. Stearn	A. Barker	H. Martin
Rushcroft-rd., Brixton	7.30 H. Cooper	H. Joy	J. Kemble	H. Cooper
Stoke Newington, Ridley Rd., Dalston	11.30 D. Fisher	R. Fox	R. Kenny	A. Jacobs
Tooting Broadway	" "	H. Joy	F. W. Stearn	F. Leigh
" "	7.30 H. Martin	A. Barker	H. Joy	E. Fairbrother
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	11.30 F. W. Stearn	E. Fairbrother	F. Dawkins	W. Pearson
" "	7.30 F. Dawkins	A. Anderson	H. Martin	T. W. Allen
Walthamstow, Hoe-st. Stn.	8.0 R. Fox	R. Kenny	A. Jacobs	R. H. Kent
Wandsworth, Buckhold Road	" "	J. Kemble	H. Cooper	A. Barker
Watford Market Place	" "	A. Anderson	T. W. Allen	F. J. Rourke
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30 F. J. Rourke	C. Ginger	J. Kelly	R. Kenny
" "	7.30 J. Kelly	F. Fairbrother	A. Anderson	A. W. Pearson
Woolwich, Beresford-sq.	11.30 A. Jacobs	H. Joy	A. Anderson	T. W. Allen

**MONDAYS.**—Islington, Highbury Cnr. 8.30. Walham Green Church, 8 p.m.  
**TUESDAYS.**—Battersea, Prince's Head, 8 p.m. Earlsfield, Putney Bridge-rd., 8 p.m.

**WEDNESDAYS.**—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Walham Green Church, 8 p.m. Plaistow, Greengate, 8 p.m.  
 Peckham Triangle 8.30. Hoxton Church, 8.30. Rushcroft-rd., Brixton, 8 p.m.

**THURSDAYS.**—Battersea, Prince's Head, 8.0. Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Earlsfield-rd., 8 p.m.  
**FRIDAYS.**—Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, St. Loy's rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30. Ilford, Seven King's Station, 8 p.m.

**SATURDAYS.**—Earlsfield, Magdalene Road, 7 p.m. Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m.  
 East Ham, Ruskin Avenue, 8 p.m. Streatham, Fountain, 8 p.m.

## SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

10, SANDLAND STREET, LONDON, W.C.

### BRANCH DIRECTORY.

**BATTERSEA.**—A. Jones, Secretary, 3, Mathew-st., Latchmere Estate, Battersea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnum House, 184, High-street, Battersea, S.W.

**BURNLEY.**—G. Schofield, Sec., 23 Mitella-street, Fulledge, Burnley. Branch meets every Sunday at 11 a.m. at above address.

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## THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

### OBJECT.

*The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth and in the interest of the whole community.*

## Declaration of Principles

### THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

#### HOLDS

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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LONDON, DECEMBER 1910.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

## THE GENERAL ELECTION.

OUR MANIFESTO TO THE WORKERS.

### FELLOW MEMBERS OF THE WORKING CLASS,

Once again the various political parties are seeking your support in a General Election. The Liberal Government, who are appealing to you to retain them in office, were boasting in January last of their "great victory" at the polls. They pointed to the anti-Lords majority of 120 as a proof of their clear mandate and sufficient backing to abolish the Lords' veto. Yet within a few months of this "great victory," they are again asking you to return them for the same purpose. Hardly had the Liberals been elected when Mr. Asquith admitted that he had not got the "guarantees" without which he promised at Albert Hall he would not hold office.

The history of the Liberal party shows that the House of Lords has nothing to fear from them. Besides acting as a trysting place for their financial supporters, it does duty as an excuse for their broken promises and procrastination. They have raised the bogey election-cry of "Down with the House of Lords!" ever since the rejection of their 1832 Reform Bill, but though in power a dozen times since then with large majorities, they have not once joined issue with the peers. Instead of "ending or mending," they have been extending, the Second Chamber. A far greater number of peers were created in the 19th century by the Liberals than by the Tories, and they are well ahead, with a total of 40, in the 20th century. In fact, the necessity of rewarding with peerages the great contributors to the party's funds is, doubtless, one of this reason for the Dissolution.

After indulging in the most violent denunciation of the Lords the Liberals arranged to patch up their quarrel by holding a conference, which, after five months' existence, has been abandoned "for the present"—to use Mr. Asquith's phrase. During these months a truce was called and we were told not to disturb the little game of cod-den evidently being played by the wily "eight." The Government, if returned again, obviously intend to continue the sham-fight 'til the Coronation, when we may expect another General Election—or another conference.

Although the Liberals admit that the reform in the composition of the House of Lords means strengthening it against the people, the 'pre-amble to the Government Veto Bill, states that "it is intended to substitute for the House of Lords as it at present exists, a Second Chamber constituted on a popular instead of a hereditary basis." This Bill gives the Lords power to reject every bill twice. Even one of their own members has admitted the hypocrisy of his party. Writing to the *Daily Chronicle* (June 20th) the Hon. J. Martin, Liberal M.P. for St. Pancras, said: "The Government have changed front several times on the House of Lords question, and on account of their wobbling policy since the Election, I have no hesitation in saying that I have no confidence whatever in them." During

the Dissolution debate (18.11.10) he said: "I do not believe the Government are in earnest in their fight against the Lords. With a majority of a hundred members like myself to stand by them, I do not believe there was any need for a dissolution."

All this goes to show how fraudulent the Liberals are; but even were they sincere on this question of the Upper Chamber it would not concern you, fellow-workers. Mere political changes do not affect your economic condition. The Liberals say that there is not such a reactionary Second Chamber abroad as the British, yet you know that poverty and unemployment abound there as here.

The poverty and insecurity from which you suffer has its roots, not in political forms, but in the class ownership of the means of life. No reform, whether of Tariffs, Franchise, or Poor Law, can touch the cause; consequently the effects persist though social reforms are continually being passed.

Even Lloyd George confessed, in his City Temple speech (17.10.10), that "before we succeed in remedying one evil, fresh ones crop up. We are hopelessly in error." That is a very significant admission. But the very reforms that fail to touch the evils they are supposed to remedy are, the "wicked Lords" notwithstanding, being made the issues by the Liberals at the present election.

Very Old Age Pensions for those on the verge of the grave (adopted because they are cheaper than Poor Law relief); Labour Exchanges (organised to smash strikes and reduce wages); a specious promise to qualify the legal effects of the Osborne judgment (a sop to catch the votes of the trades unionists); these are the futilities with which the Liberals mock the care worn wage slaves of capitalism.

The Labour Party, as we have continually pointed out, is merely a wing of the Liberal party. It is composed of job-hunters who, like Shackleton, are seeking office in Liberal administrations. Said their chairman in the House of Commons (18.11.10): "It was because the Labour Party believed the solution of the House of Lords question would be a step forward that they supported the Government."

Your masters are seeking your suffrages in this election because upon their control of the political machine their supremacy depends. Liberal and Tory alike are out for the maintenance of this system which means for you a continuation of your slavery. While pretending to be in deadly enmity, they are united as one against you when you try to better your lot. They combine in Masters' Federations and try to starve you into submission by locking you out when you seek to make your wages cover the increased cost of living—as in Lancashire. They bring the armed forces into your midst to bludgeon you and menace your very lives—as

in South Wales. Through their political supremacy your masters control these forces of repression, and if you are to change the conditions under which you work and live, you must fight to get control of the machinery of Government.

In that fight you cannot take sides with any section of the capitalist class, because it is to their interest to maintain this system which means luxury and idleness for them. Neither can you support these parties which, like the Labour Party and the Social Democratic Party, are parties of compromise and reform. (The latter of these organisations has, in its election manifesto, advised the workers to stultify themselves by voting for the Tories. Their only candidate is a champion of "a strong navy.") Your interests, being opposed to those of the capitalists, must lead you to ally yourself with a working-class political party waging an uncompromising battle against all the forces ranged in opposition to your class.

Your emancipation can only be achieved by converting the instruments of production from the property of a few (who use them to exploit you) into the common property of society, so that they can be used to produce the requirements of life in abundance for all; in a word, Socialism must be established.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain is the only party in this country that consistently works for this end; and as the realisation of Socialism depends upon the conversion of the workers, your place is within its ranks, striving to bring your fellow-workers into line, helping to hasten the day when the fratricidal warfare of capitalism is supplanted by the fraternal co-operation that Socialism alone can ensure.

Pending the time when the workers rally in greater numbers to the Socialist Party, and so enable it to take its proper place in electoral contests as the only working-class political party in this country, it has no candidates in the field. Hence all the candidates before you at this election, whether they be openly and avowedly capitalist, or sink at the heels of the Liberals under the title of I.L.P., S.D.P., Labour, or Socialist, stand for the maintenance of capitalism, and from the position we have outlined your duty is plain.

### ABSTAIN FROM VOTING

on this occasion, and, lest the enemy impersonate you, go to the ballot-box and inscribe "SOCIALISM!" upon your voting paper. Above all, the work that lies before you is to enlist the support of your fellows in the fight for Socialism, for that alone can deliver you from the misery which to-day you endure.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE  
SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.



## THE POSITION OF THE I.L.P.

A PARALLEL AND A MORAL.

THE means by which the defenders of an established order seek to retain supremacy and resist progress are always interesting, not merely from an abstract point of view, but also because of the valuable lessons which can be learned by a thoughtful observer, and applied with advantage in the future. Such a case occurred when the theory of Natural Selection, so intimately associated with the name of Darwin, burst like a thunderclap over the old ideas of a special creation, with each human individual, as distinct from the lower animals, endowed with a "soul" or "spirit." These modern notions were met on the one hand with a conspiracy of silence, on the other with a venomous outpouring of abuse. But, of course, neither method proved to be any great barrier to the progress of an idea that was bound to grow and spread, by reason of its intrinsic truth and logic. The more astute, though less honest, apostles of ignorance were not slow to realise this, and in consequence they adopted a new method of combating the truth. We are now generally told that there is no real or necessary conflict between science and superstition, or, as it is phrased, between evolution and religion. Science is now invested with clerical garb where formerly it was reviled. By such means do the clergy desire to prevent its real significance being known, and to prolong the life of their creed and therefore the term of their occupation.

The essential features of the reception given to the above mentioned idea are also common to the attitude adopted toward the theories in which we are more immediately concerned. I refer to the principles upon which the Socialists take their stand. The starting point is as follows:

The way in which wealth is produced and distributed in every social system determines the ideas of the people; in other words, material conditions dominate and form the basis of all the legal, ethical, moral and religious superstructure of society.

In modern society there are two distinct classes, namely, the producers and the possessors. The material interest of the possessing class lies in the direction of more profit, which means more power and greater hardship for the producers. The interest of the workers is, of course, the opposite, and lies in getting all the wealth they can. Such is the position to-day, and we cannot ignore it. The ideas and aspirations of the possessing class are rooted in their class privilege. They will not abdicate their favoured position. Their legal and moral codes seek to justify their position as robbers. The man or the party that advises the workers to support capitalist candidates or parties under any circumstances is an enemy of the working class. It is our duty to keep the class issue clear. Either you must engage in the struggle against the capitalist system or else actively or passively support the ruling class. With its cause lying in the private property basis of society, the class struggle cannot be suspended, but must be waged with increasing bitterness until the capitalist class are overthrown and classes cease to exist. We do not cloak these facts, but make their clear presentment to our fellow-working-men the very first object of our propagandist endeavours.

Realising the dangerous character of these revolutionary theories, the master class and their henchmen first endeavour to keep the working class in ignorance by such clumsy methods as the exiling or imprisoning of the men (such as Marx) who discovered and first stated these facts, and by the suppression of their works and the harrying of those who openly accept their ideas. Finding the futility of such a course, they take a lesson from the Church, and resort to the boycott. In this the capitalist class in this country found a useful ally in the Independent Labour Party, and later in the Labour Party. The I.L.P. (as also the L.P.) at its inception completely ignored the fundamentals of working-class organisation, thus playing directly into the masters' hands. This party, with whom popularity and Parliamentary seats appear to be the only measure of success, is bound in order

to maintain its success, to preach and support anti-working-class nostrums which have been popularised by capitalist agencies. An ever-growing number of the working class have pointed out the futility of dropping revolutionary principles for votes and fighting elections on election cries kindly provided by the Liberal party, and specially designed to serve capitalist interests. Naturally enough, the labour leaders have been annoyed at these irreconcilable notions, and when they could not ignore them they have indulged in violent denunciations of the principle of the class struggle and everything connected with it.

After the International Conference at Amsterdam Mr. J. Bruce Glasier, a prominent I.L.P., distinguished himself in this direction with the following (*Labour Leader*, 26.8.04): "The Class War dogma is a reactionary and whiggish precept certain to lead the movement away from the real aims of Socialism." On another occasion Mr. Keir Hardie showed his "love" for the materialist class-war basis of Socialism by stating that if Socialism was to be achieved on these lines nothing would be changed except for the worse, adding that it would be "a merely glorified animalism, dangerously akin to bestiality." (*Labour Leader* 17.8.01.) This sentiment, of course, is merely a variation of the old "religious" wheeze that everything materialistic is inexpressibly vile.

Another instance (out of many) of specific denial of the Socialist principle of the class struggle is contained in "The New Theology and the Social Movement," a pamphlet issued by the I.L.P. Publication Department. The brochure is a report of the first I.L.P. meeting the Rev. R. J. Campbell addressed (Hope Hall, Liverpool, March 25, 1907). Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, Labour M.P., wrote regretting his inability to attend and added: "Mr. Campbell's adherence to the principles of our party is one more proof that we do not appeal to narrow class interests or prejudices, but that we aim at a state of society which commends itself to conscientious and rational people irrespective altogether of social status." This childish Utopian notion of a perfect society commending itself to all "conscientious and rational" people becomes merely laughable when tested by the historical fact that no ruling class has ever willingly relinquished its power, no matter how "good" or "rational" such a course might have been.

But in spite of this Keir Hardie specifically endorsed MacDonald's effusion. "As MacDonald says," he declared, "his (Campbell's) presence here is one more proof that the Socialism of the I.L.P. is no narrow class movement. It is a great principle which we invite all classes to come into and help to realise." This is the sort of stuff Hardie ladled out in the name of the I.L.P. as an antidote to Marxian principles, and, be it noted, none of these statements have been repudiated or even objected to by his party. In fact, in I.L.P. leaflet No. 5, ironically called "A Statement of Principles," the same position is taken up. We are told that the party does not make war upon a class but considers a man's convictions and not his social status, thus making it plain that they consider the two things entirely separate instead of, as the Marxian philosophy shows, vitally connected.

Considerations of space prevent me quoting further evidence of the opposition of the I.L.P. to Marxian tenets. Sufficient however, has, I believe, been written to prove beyond all doubt the hostile and anti-working-class attitude of the Labourites.

It is becoming increasingly evident that after all neither Utopian day-dreams nor sentimental piffle have much effect upon the steady progress of the Socialist idea. With the deplorable results to the labour "leaders" themselves consequent on the workers embracing the new philosophy, ever before their eyes, the more astute of them have fallen back to their last ditch. The time has gone by when it was profitable to repudiate Marx, and now the wirepullers of the "Labour" movement shift their ground and affirm that the Labour Party is based upon his teaching.

In view of this insidious move it is more than ever necessary for us to point out what position the labour "leaders" and the organisations they dominate have occupied on this question. Let any of these "latter-day Marxists" show, if they can, how a Marxian party could be guilty of such

anti-Marxian pronouncements as those quoted above.

It is peculiar that it should have been left to Keir Hardie, who has so vehemently denounced the principle of the class struggle in the past, to introduce the new methods and pose as a Marxist. Yet, relying on the proverbially short memory of the British working class, he has not shirked the task. In "My Confession of Faith in the Labour Alliance," a pamphlet issued just after the Edinburgh conference of the I.L.P., Mr. Keir Hardie, among other curious statements, makes the following assertion: "The Labour Party is the only expression of orthodox Marxian Socialism in Great Britain."

Unfortunately for Mr. Hardie and his gang of political brigands, he neglected, when perpetrating this foul lie, to give his confederates the cue, with the result that some amusing complications have arisen. Father should have said "turn," for the sake of harmony. As it is some of the party are still declaring that Marx was the last of the Utopians, while others, more up-to-date, are repeating Hardie's prevarications. For instance, after the latter had discovered that they were a class party, Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, of the "Brunner Bill" fame, wrote in the *Labour Leader* of May 21st, 1909: "The Socialist movement knows no class but is drawn from all classes," and clinched the matter thus: "So I can sum up, the Labour Party is not a class but a community party."

What a spectacle of contradiction and confusion! Here are two men with unrivalled opportunity of knowing what the Labour Party really does stand for, flatly contradicting each other on the very basis of their movement. If the leaders are so divided on root principles it may be left to the reader's imagination to determine what state of mind the "rank-and-file" of the party must be in.

The most important point, however, is that the labour "leaders" have in the past first ignored and then opposed the theories of Marx. Only recently have they attempted to "revise" these great scientific truths. The "revising" process is merely an endeavour to emasculate the Socialist doctrine, to rob Marx's terms of their meaning and so make them fit in with the confusing and contradictory propaganda of the Labour Party.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the new plan has already caught on. The official organ of the I.L.P. for September 9th last tells us that no one can have a complete knowledge of Socialism unless he is acquainted with the theories of Marx. Incidentally it has taken them seventeen years as a party to find this out. But they go on to say that Marx's work belongs to the pioneer stage and requires some restatement. In this way they seek to impose upon the credulity of those of their readers who do not know that Marx's work was the laying bare of the economic foundation of society—which remains the same now as it was when his labour was accomplished. Consequently they do not suggest a study of Marx's works, but advise the perusal of a pamphlet written by a pseudo-Marxist of the Labour Party type, who can be depended upon to suppress awkward truths and distort inconvenient theories.

It is not my special purpose here to show that the class struggle has nothing in common with licensing bills, capitalist budgets, Free Church councils and P.S.A.s, even were it necessary to do so; but I shall be satisfied if I enable my readers to see through the sham enthusiasm of the Labour "leaders" for their perverted Marxism. Just as the clergy opposed the theory of evolution until its progress made it imperative to try to smother it with embraces, so too the changed attitude of Hardie and his gang toward the principle of the class struggle is forced on them by the rapid spreading of the idea among the working class. Hence it is a hopeful sign, signifying that the Labour tricksters are being forced into their last resource.

When the facts are known, the insincerity and double-dealing of the Labour "leaders" are plain. It is not surprising that their fight against progress runs on parallel lines to that of the clergy, for they have much in common. Both are the servile tools of the capitalist class, and their function is to mislead the workers and so postpone the day of reckoning—hence the Socialist Party spare no pains to effect their exposure. R. Fox.

## THE REVOLUTIONARY PROPOSITION.

(Continued.)

In our last instalment we saw that the Revolutionary Proposition must be achieved, firstly by the education in its principles of the only class that, in the nature of things, can become revolutionary—the working class—and secondly by the capture of the political machinery.

The Revolutionary Proposition is a proposal to dispossess the master class, therefore the first axiom of the revolutionary politician is that, as a politician, he must necessarily be in conflict with the master class.

The political machinery exists for no other purpose than to serve and conserve material interests. Its every action finds its motive power in the all pervading "bread-and-butter" question. Why should it be otherwise? The first passion is the passion to eat. The poet, whose mission under capitalism has been to supplement the work of the Church in the endeavour to depreciate the material, has tried to lift love to the first place, and calls it "truth," while the modern novelist, true product of the bestial conditions of modern life, makes lust the premier passion, and calls it "realism."

But how many of us, having the courage to speak as we find, give assent either to Beauty or The Beast? How many of us, being "Men in earnest" who

"have no time to waste,  
Weaving fig-leaves for the naked truth"

dare assert that mankind in general would toil and moil and suffer, from the cradle to the grave, as mankind in general *does* toil and moil and suffer, for love, or lust, or any other passion than the passion to eat? And history, indeed—the history of the slave peoples of all times—proves that neither is the poet's frenzy truth, nor the novelist's grossness reality; for it shows, in its records of suppression, and violation, and emasculation—the concubines and eunuchs of the East, the "right of the first night," the enforced celibacy, and the prostitution of the West—shows in these how love and lust have universally been trampled under foot. And history further shows that no other passion than the passion to eat, no other question than the earthy "bread-and-butter" question, no transcendent conception of justice or liberty or equality or fraternity, has ever led a subject class to revolution. Enslaved classes have been subjected to every indignity, deprived of the opportunity of satisfying every human passion, but withal the worm has only turned for food, and the one protesting appeal has been: "Bread! More bread!" Earth is more powerful than heaven; preservation stands even before procreation.

Since the power of economic interests dominates all others, the bitterest of all struggles must centre about the possession of the political machinery—the machinery of the ruling class for conserving their economic interests.

The political struggle is in very essence the struggle for life, therefore it must be supreme. This struggle to capture the machinery of government, in order that it may be used to disarm the possessing class, preparatory to dispossessing them, must take the first and foremost place in the working-class political life. All other things must be secondary to this endeavour. Therefore the votes and support of the workers must be won openly and above-board, on the plain, clear issue of the Revolutionary Proposition,—for or against the abolition of private property in the means of living; for or against the establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership of the means and instruments of production and distribution.

The vote belongs to the idea behind it: the seat, hence, no matter what manner of man fills it, belongs to the political faith of its constituents. If then, a seat is won by revolutionary votes, and the man who fills it should turn out to be a traitor, the seat still would be a revolutionary seat, though temporarily perverted from its proper use. If, on the other hand, well-meaning enthusiasts desirous of the new social system, displaying all their gaudy baubles—cures for unemployment, State maintenance of children,

and the like—gain by these means the votes of those who want the reforms but cling to the system, and through these votes get seated, their seats still belong to capitalism, and they, willy-nilly, become henchmen of the capitalists. In such case no atom of progress has been made in the struggle for the revolutionary capture of the machinery of government; and if it can be shown that the reforms are either impossible or futile (a future consideration), then it is demonstrated that working-class effort has been utterly wasted.

But experience shows that the result of this building on unsound votes is worse than mere waste of energy. It affords opportunity to the wily and unscrupulous demagogues, the Burnses and Hardies of England and the Briands and Millerands of France; and they workers, finding those whom the fondly hoped were to do their bidding, made Cabinet ministers, and suppressing them with bayonet and ball cartridge, heap curses on Socialism, and, losing faith in political action, fly to the sophistries of Anarchism, or sink in the sluggish waters of indifference.

The political struggle is the struggle for the instrument of class domination, therefore it must be a class struggle. The very fact of the existence of this machinery of government proves that. It is a strange superstition that conceives the possibility of the master class assisting in the work of giving the working class control of the legislative and judicial machinery, the police and the armed forces of the nation. The fight for these instruments—the only power which to-day maintains the dominant class in their position—will be long, stern and bitter, and every weapon and artifice the ruling class can resort to they will.

The political party of the working class, therefore, must stand opposed to all other political parties, must, in short base their activities upon the fundamental principle of the class struggle. The issue is one that can only divide men into two camps—those for and those against the Revolutionary Proposition. This issue must be clear of all befogging issues and illusions, on the principle that only the revolutionary is of any use for the revolution, and the revolutionary will always vote right on the clear, simple issue of the revolution.

A. E. JACOMB.

[To be Continued.]

## POT POURRI.

I did not go to the Business Exhibition, but I have done the next best thing—read the newspaper puffs of it. One needs not to be a master of deductive philosophy to read the lesson writ large over the pages of becoming devoted to it. The features of this year consist of calculating machines for eliminating clerks; a machine (the Dictaphone) for doubling one's output; another that addresses envelopes at the rate of 2,000 an hour, and so on. Competitions for speed and accuracy are again a leading item, marked this year by the large number of women who have entered for the first time. One firm will teach you (for a consideration) how to develop your powers, how to manage men, increase efficiency and such like.

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The Dictaphone is best described in the maker's advertisements: "enabling one person to do the work of two, saving 50% time and labour in any office. The work of the principal is simplified, the output of the typist doubled." Wages, we understand, will remain stationary. When the envelope addresser and the Dictaphone get thoroughly going, throwing half the clerical workers on the streets, making the unfortunate remainder work doubly hard, I suppose the Tariff Reformer will still have no difficulty in proving to them that a tax on Dutch cheese and a preferential tariff in favour of Colonial sardines will solve the problem. The Free Trader, doubtless, will glibly assure the beaten competitors of the Dictaphone and the mechanical calculator that as soon as the Budget has had a chance, and when the 99 year leases fall in, and when the great schemes that the Liberal party has up its sleeve (at present only darkly hinted at) get in full swing, "then!" he'll say, "then!"—Ah then!

To the clerk, as to every other labourer for hire, it should be clear that the good things of life are not for him whilst the present system of "managing men" is the vogue. If you believe in a step at a time (most of them backwards), join the Liberal party, or its adjuncts, the I.L.P. or S.D.P., and work for State Christmas Trees for your great-grandchildren and municipal ice-cream barrows. If you want freedom now, not in 99 years, join the S.P.G.B.

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I would like to say just here that we Socialists don't ask for any license, poetical, political, or of any other variety. When we say the I.L.P., Labour Party, S.D.P., Fabian Society, etc. are capitalist agencies, please don't assume that pique or arrogance actuate us. Just to show you what is meant, here is an instance.

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The Railway Clerks' Association has recently affiliated to the Labour Party. The latter, of course, accepted it on the usual terms. The character of the R.C.A. is succinctly outlined in the October No. of their official organ, p. 202: "The policy of the R.C.A. is not only to secure justice for its members, but also to urge and assist them to make themselves worth more to their employer." Of such is the kingdom of Henderson & Co.

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Whilst we are on the subject I may have a jab at the Fabians. Now look at this!

"I came to the conclusion that just as it is in the interest of Capital to keep the rolling stock and the permanent way in good repair, so it must be to the interest of Capital to be constantly raising the standard of living for the men in order that the human factor may be improved."

Who said that? None other than Mrs. Sidney Webb, at the opening of the new A.S.R.S. offices. That's the sort of fool's errand the Fabians are on. Don't join them.

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A few lines from a poem by Mr. James Stephens are worth repeating.

"For I've sat my life away with pen and rule,  
On a stool,  
Totting little lines of figures, and so will  
Tho' the chill  
And the languor of gray hairs on my brow  
Mock me now.  
And sometimes while I work I lift my eyes  
To the skies,  
To the foot or two of heaven which I trace  
In the space  
That a grimy window grudges to the spot  
Where I tot.  
And I ask the God who made me and the sun  
What I've done  
To be buried in this dark and dreary cave  
Like a grave,  
While the world laughs in scorn now and then  
At my pen."

You see, that's just where he is, silly, asking God anything. You can sit on a stool asking conundrums of space and gather nothing but a harvest of wasted years and a heap of worn-out trousers. It may be easy, but it is quite profitless. Get off your stool and get to work on your slave-irons. Gazing through a couple of feet of smoky window-glass won't help you any. If you have any spare brain your employer has not a lien on, we'll tell you what to do with it. Come in. WILFRED.

The receipt of a copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED—

"Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)  
"Weekly People" (New York)  
"New York Call" (New York)  
"Gaelic American" (New York)  
"Western Wage-Earner" (Vancouver, B.C.)  
"Civil Service Socialist" (London).  
"The New World" (West Ham).  
"Freedom" (London).



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## The Socialist Standard,



THURSDAY, DEC. 1, 1910.

## REMEMBER TONYPANDY!

SOME weeks back a strike occurred in the Moabit quarter of Berlin, during which the workers were brutally assaulted by the police and soldiers. The London Liberal Press saw in that outbreak the dire effects of Tariff Reform and an anti-Liberal Government! But recent events in South Wales, where under Free Trade and Liberal rule, the striking miners have been treated with barbarity before which the Berlin horrors pale, have exploded this idea. Moreover, the chief owner concerned is a prominent member of the Liberal party, and so greatly is he esteemed by them that they propose to raise him to the Peerage now that he has retired from the House of Commons. Wales, too, is such a stronghold of Liberalism that the events there show up Liberalism in no uncertain light.

It will be remembered that for years past the South Wales miners have been trying to get an eight hours Bill passed. But—manifestation of the fraud of capitalist reform—ever since this "Great Charter of the Miners" has been law they have been striking against its effects. The employees of the Cambrian Combine in the Rhonda Valley, and of the Powell Duffryn Co. in the Aberdare district, have been driven to desperation by the harassing conditions imposed by the great Liberal mine-owners. Tremendous profits have been made—the Cambrian Trust have made a million pounds profit in the last dozen years with a capital only half that sum—yet the companies have added device to device in order to increase their spoliation, until thousands of miners can make no more than 2s. per day. And now the owners refuse to allow the men to take home firewood—a privilege they have had for half a century.

Altogether 20,000 miners are out, and in order to induce others to join them they have held demonstrations and appointed pickets, and the pickets have been attacked by the police. But the climax came on the 8th Nov., at Tonymandy. Prior to this the mine-owners became alarmed for the safety of their property, and determined to cow the strikers into submission by sheer force of arms. In the words of the *Daily Chronicle* (Nov. 8) "the Company, as a precautionary measure, had wired for a detachment of cavalry to protect the pits."

Although "every available constable from the surrounding country had been summoned," the Home Secretary sent over 1,000 metropolitan police—many of them being mounted and armed with swords,—besides which about 1,500 soldiers, including many cavalry, were despatched. The hypocrisy of Churchill was shown by the statement he issued on Nov. 8, declaring that he had sent police *instead* of soldiers, whereas he had already ordered the 18th Hussars, North Lancashire Regiment, and the North Lancashire Fusiliers to Wales (from Tidworth, Salisbury Plain), and they arrived at Pontypandy next morning.

Boiling water was directed upon the strikers and live wires were put around the vicinity of

mines, the but notwithstanding all their savagery, the Companies could not break the strike.

The night of the 8th saw the most blood-thirsty attack upon the workers that has been recorded throughout the strike. Men and women were bludgeoned, kicked and maltreated so terribly that hundreds were maimed and wounded beyond description. Even little children did not escape, and many are disabled for life. Samuel Royce, a miner, was murdered by the police that night; he had joined the Territorials some time ago to defend "his" country. What a tragic commentary!

For evidence of police brutality let us quote the Liberal M.P. for Merthyr. Speaking in the House of Commons on Nov. 15th Mr. E. Jones, "referring to the conduct of the police and soldiers at Aberdare, said the people were bludgeoned a quarter of a mile from the mines, absolutely innocent people being savagely attacked. It was openly stated in that district that the policemen in this case were under the influence of drink, and many other incidents pointed to the fact that the police had altogether lost their heads." (*Daily Chronicle*, 16.11.10.)

Although the soldiers have not been in action yet, they are being kept on the spot in case the police fail to satisfy the requirements of the colliery owners. In his official statement of Nov. 10th the Home Secretary said that he will not hesitate to use the military, and in the House of Commons (15th Nov.) he stated that "the Central Government has acted more directly than is usual or usually desirable," and further said "I take full responsibility for all that has been done."

In the face of these admissions of the murderous nature of capitalist government, the workers should note the despicable conduct of those who claim to specially represent them in the House of Commons. That prominent member of the Labour Party, Mr. W. Abraham ("Mabon") in the House of Commons on Nov. 15th said that "he declined to take any part in condemning the Home Office or the Government for the part they took at the commencement of the sad affair." His attitude is that of all the other members of that wing of the Liberal party. For the sake of securing their seats and their salaries they are now engaged in supporting Liberals all over the country. In Dundee, for instance, the workers are being told to vote for the two "progressives," who are Mr. Alex. Wilkie and the assassin Churchill! Elsewhere—at Bow and Bromley and at Deptford for example—the Liberals are carrying out their share of the bargain by telling their supporters to vote for the "Labour" candidates.

Mr. Keir Hardie is anxious for the Government to appoint a Committee of enquiry. Of course—many of those on strike are his constituents. But how childish to ask the capitalists to appoint a committee to enquire into their own conduct! It will be remembered that on the occasion of the Featherstone massacre the Liberal Government gave way (!) to public demand and appointed a Committee of enquiry. Here are the miners' names: Lord Bowen, Sir A. K. Rollit, and Mr. Haldane. The result could only be the whitewashing of butcher Asquith. The traitorous Labour Party were dumb when the workers were slaughtered at Belfast in 1907 by order of the Liberal Minister Birrell. And Keir Hardie absented himself time after time in 1893 although Asquith challenged him to be present and accuse him inside the House.

Notice the impartiality of our capitalist masters. See what a sham the party divisions of Liberal and Tory are, when the issue is between the workers and the capitalists. When the Tory mine-owner, Lord Masham, appealed for soldiers to protect the Acton Hall Colliery, the Liberal Asquith immediately drafted troops to the spot, with the result that Gibbs and Duggan were murdered. Now when the Liberal mine-owner D. A. Thomas applies for military aid he receives it. The Tory party are in the same boat. When Penrhyn sought military assistance to subdue the starving quarrymen ten years ago it was readily afforded him. And in 1887 they sent armed mounted police to Trafalgar Square to disperse the unemployed—and poor Linnell was done to death.

The working class have many things to remember concerning the history of both political parties. The fact stands out clear that both political factions have used every agency at their

command to keep the working class in subjection. The hypocritical Liberal cries out against the Tory: "Remember Michaelstown!" what time he overlooks those landmarks in the class struggle—Featherstone, Belfast, and now Tonymandy.

The lessons of Tonymandy should be remembered by the toilers and driven home whenever support is asked for the capitalist candidates. Capitalism stands for murder, whether direct as at Tonymandy or indirect as at Whitehaven, West Stanley, or at the Maypole Colliery—murder, whether in the enforced starvation recorded daily in the papers, or in the suicide of those unable to bear the burden of misery longer.

The race for profits by our masters is a race that means misery, starvation and premature death for its victims the workers. Therefore our policy must be one of unceasing hostility to capitalism, whether "reformed" or not. Unceasing hostility to all its upholders, whether they label themselves Liberal, Tory, Labourite or Social-Democrat.

We cannot ever ally ourselves with that class whose hands are stained with the blood of our fellow toilers. We can never forget that in the struggle between the workers and the capitalists there can be no truce, no quarter, no compromise! The South Wales horrors have once again demonstrated this fact with the tragic emphasis of blood. It is for us to point again the lesson that the armed forces of the State—nay, the whole machinery of the State—exists but to conserve the interests of the ruling class. The capture of this State machinery must then be the object of our endeavours. Vengeance and our emancipation are one and the same thing, and must both be sought on the political field. If the miners learnt this lesson the masters would have cause to Remember Tonymandy!

## SOCIAL CONTRASTS.

ANATOLE France in one of his novels says that "the life of a people is but a succession of miseries, crimes and follies." This is largely correct. Certainly, from the manifold volumes of historical works in existence, treating of various periods and various peoples, we may gather some knowledge of the crimes and follies perpetrated by the ruling classes of these times, and the enslavement, and consequent misery, of the other, and greater, portion of the populace. It would, indeed, appear from an examination into different historical epochs, that the greater the wealth and culture of the ruling class, the more degraded and hopeless is the condition of those they rule.

If, for example, we turn back to the so-called "golden" age of Greek civilisation, we find that at the time of the greatest prosperity of the Attic state, the whole number of free Athenian citizens, women and children included, amounted to about 90,000; the slaves of both sexes numbered 365,000; the balance of the people being made up of aliens—foreigners and freed slaves—these numbering about 45,000. History tells us little or nothing of the lives of these 365,000 human beings on whose toil practically the whole structure of the much-vaunted Greek culture rested. We have had handed down to us the philosophical systems of Plato and Aristotle, the lyrical dramas of Aeschylus and Euripides; the sculpture of Pheidias can yet be seen in the British Museum; in the glowing pages of Plutarch (to say nothing of William Smith) are to be found the records of all the heroic deeds performed by Pericles and Alcibiades; but the life of a slave does not make such pretty reading as that of a philosopher or artist, and so the historians have been very careful not to disturb the sleek complacency of their readers by a recital of the doings of the mere wealth-producers. The blood and sweat of the slaves would soil the classical purity of Greek culture, so the blood and sweat must be buried beneath the traditional glory of the slaves' taskmasters.

Coming down to later times a very similar contrast may be observed between the status of the rich and the poor, between the dominant class and the class dominated. In another "golden" age—that of the "virgin" queen Elizabeth—wealth, we are told, increased to an enormous extent. Green, in his "Short history

of the English People," says, "The lavishness of a new wealth united with a lavishness of life, a love of beauty, of colour, of display, to revolutionize English dress. The Queen's three thousand robes were rivalled in their bravery by the slashed velvets, the ruffs, the jewelled purpoints of the courtiers around her. Men wore a manor on their backs." The old sober notions of thrift melted before the strange revolutions of fortune wrought by the New World. Gallants gambled away a fortune at a sitting, and sailed off to make a fresh one in the Indies. Visions of galleons loaded to the brim with pearls and diamonds and ingots of silver, dreams of El Dorados where all was of gold, threw a haze of prodigality and confusion over the imagination of the meanest seaman." English literature, following in the wake of the Italian Renaissance, took on a new lease of life through such men as Spenser, Shakespeare, Bacon and the numerous other poets and writers who graced the Elizabethan age. A scientific knowledge of natural laws was spreading. "It was only in the later years of the sixteenth century that the discoveries of Copernicus were brought home to the general intelligence of the world by Kepler and Galileo." Drake, Raleigh, Hawkins and Froisher, between the intervals of "singeing the King of Spain's beard," were circumnavigating the globe, breaking into the charmed circle of the Indies, or discovering the North-West passage.

And yet there is very distinctly another side to the medal. During the reigns immediately preceding that of Elizabeth, a great and ever increasing number of the people had been forcibly expropriated from the soil and thrown out upon the highways to exist as best they might. "They were turned *en masse* into beggars, robbers, vagabonds, partly from inclination, in most cases from stress of circumstances. Hence at the end of the 15th and during the whole of the 16th century, throughout Western Europe, a bloody legislation against vagabondage. The fathers of the present working class were chastised for their enforced transformation into vagabonds and paupers. Legislation treated them as voluntary criminals, and assumed that it depended on their own goodwill to go on working under the old conditions that no longer existed." (Marx in "Capital.")

Marx further tells us that "In Elizabeth's time rogues were trussed up apace, and there was not one year commonly wherein three or four hundred were not devoured and eaten up by the gallowses." (Styry's "Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion, and other Various Occurrences in the Church of England during Queen Elizabeth's Happy Reign," Second ed., 1725, Vol. 2.) According to this same Styry, in Somersetshire, in one year, 40 persons were executed, 35 robbers burnt in the hand, 37 whipped, and 183 discharged as "incorrigible vagabonds." Nevertheless, he is of the opinion that this large number of prisoners does not comprise even a fifth of the actual criminals, thanks to the negligence of the justices and the foolish compassion of the people; and the other counties of England were not better off in this respect than Somersetshire, while some were even worse.

Thus were the agricultural people, first forcibly expropriated from the soil, driven from their homes, turned into vagabonds, and then whipped, branded by laws grotesquely terrible, into the discipline necessary for the wage system.

In modern capitalist society these same sardonic contrasts prevail. In the *Daily Chronicle* of June 6th, 1903, it was pointed out that "the whole volume of British Trade has increased from 764 millions sterling in 1898 to 877 millions in 1902," and in the same issue appeared a report of a speech delivered by the late Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, in which he declared that about 30% of the population were underfed, were on the verge of hunger. (Vide SOCIALIST STANDARD, August this year.)

During the first nine months of 1910, official trade returns show that:

Imports rose by £37,530,000,  
Exports of British goods rose by £41,239,000,  
and Exports of imported goods rose by £11,063,000

as compared with January to September 1909. In the same issue of the paper (*Morning Leader* 8th October) in which these figures are given, is a short paragraph, headed "Pea-pickers Hardships," giving an account of a meeting held at

Romford, at which "the lamentable conditions under which the pea-pickers live in Essex" was discussed. Canon Ingles remarking at this meeting that the way the pickers lived while on the farms was a disgrace to a Christian country and Canon Lord William Cecil supporting the view that employers should be compelled to provide pure water for drinking and clean straw for beds.

In spite of the great increase in trade that has taken place since the beginning of 1910, at the present time there is perhaps more dissatisfaction among the industrial workers of this country than for some years past. The boiler-makers, the miners, the cotton operatives, the chain-makers and the railwaymen, to mention only a few, are seething with discontent. And yet exports of British goods rose by £41,239,000!

Historical research shows that, no matter at what period—ancient, mediæval or modern,—no matter what may be the wealth and culture, the spread of knowledge, the goodwill even (if such there be) among the dominant class, the condition of the class dominated is, in the main, one of base and degrading servitude, of physical and mental misery. Using the words of the before-mentioned French author, we may epitomise the history of the members of the slave-class by saying that "they were born, they suffered, they died." Suffering has been their only heritage since slavery was first instituted; whether it be chattel slavery or wage-slavery does not make very much difference, except that perhaps the chattel-slave was, in some respects, better off than the modern wage-worker.

The Socialist Party exists for the purpose of abolishing, once and for ever, both slave-class and master-class. We of course recognise that natural inequalities between individuals do and must exist. But we know further that social inequalities and contrasts between individuals or classes are an anomaly. To help do away with these social inequalities and contrasts, to raise society to a higher plane, where equality of opportunity shall be accorded to all, irrespective of race or sex, is the reason for our existence as a party. We ask for the intelligent co-operation of our fellow wage-slaves to assist us in this work, so that the day may be hastened when such terms as slave and master, owner and owned, working class and capitalist class, will be without meaning. When society has evolved into this stage, when the Socialist Commonwealth has at last been established, then for the first time will a period of real culture and intellectual activity be possible to all, and not to, comparatively, a mere handful of men and women, such as have monopolised all the best things of life up to the present.

F. J. WEBB.

## REFLECTIONS

## ON THE COTTON LOCK-OUT.

The cotton lock-out has been "settled," accompanied by the tedious Te Deums of our sycophantic clergy, the benedictions of our prosperous trade union organisers, and the "we are glad both sides are reasonable" sermons of our Liberal newspapers. To-day every strike and lock-out gives clear proof of the bankruptcy of trade unionism, of its utter inability to permanently raise the standard of the workers' existence. In Lancashire the big unions are monsters of indifference, organisations bossed by mediocre bureaucrats, with a rank and file taking little interest in the working of the union, save when the mill "breaks down," and they become entitled to a few week's "break-down pay."

Some of these unions resemble the mediæval guilds; jobs are handed down from father to son; it is sure that one must possess family influence, either lineal or collateral, to be able to enter the union and learn the trade. At their best these unions are looked upon as attempts to preserve the *status quo*, to try to preserve, if possible, even the present "heavy and varied condition of the operatives' breakfast table."

The boisterous crowds whom we read of as patrolling the streets of Oldham during the first day of the lock-out were not enthused and noisily happy because of a coming fight on some vital question with their bosses, but simply because they were confident of the "give and take" policy of their leaders bringing the lock-out to

a speedy end.

Their leaders! What an array of altruistic capacity passes before our vision when we think of the men who "led" the workers during the lock-out! Working-men J.P.s! Is there anywhere such another anomaly? In Lancashire they flourish abundantly. These leaders conceive it to be their duty to punish the small, petty, found-out thieves who are the natural product of capitalism. "Justice of the Peace" is almost a synonym for "labour leader" in Lancashire. If the workers put their trust in such mental small fry, what wonder that their condition shows no sign of alleviation!

In the *Manchester Guardian* of Oct. 5 1908, referring to meeting of "Oddfellows" at Nelson, Mr. Shackleton's constituency, that gentleman in the course of speech is thus reported:

"Alluding to the presence on the platform of Mr. Wilkinson Hartley, chairman of the Nelson Cotton Manufacturers Association, Mr. Shackleton said that he and Mr. Hartley had often met before, and had had some tough battles. That night they could shake hands and welcome each other as brothers desirous of furthering a great movement. As long as they could get on with men like Mr. Hartley, there was security for the peace and well-being of Lancashire, and its principle trade might be carried on to the best advantage of the community."

In the same paper of Dec. 28, 1908 a photograph was published of Mr. Shackleton occupying the position of chairman at a meeting of the Labour Co-partnership Association, with Mr. A. J. Balfour and Sir. C. Furness on his right and Mr. Henry Vivian and similar "men of thought who waged contention with their times decay" on his left. One understands Mr. P. Snowden's remark, in a speech to his constituents during the lock-out, that "He had followed this dispute, and he could not call to mind any form of industrial dispute in which one side had showed a disposition to be reasonable, to compromise and to make sacrifices in order to avoid a stoppage of work to the extent that the operative leaders had." (*Manchester Guardian*, 10.4.10.)

The results obtainable from the capers of these leaders of the Lancashire operatives are manifested in that speech of Mr. Snowden's. Continued penury exists in spite of Labour M.P.'s teetotal sermonising; an inability to improve their economic position to even the least extent is inevitable when the workers' leaders fraternise with their enemies the bosses on so-called neutral platforms, and truckle and accept defeat when any dispute is in "progress." Strange that a Socialist platform never becomes a "neutral" one!

Let the labour leaders learn from a bourgeois historian: "The warfare of capital and labour in England has been more prolonged than any other historical struggle. Dynastic wars, wars of religion, wars on behalf of balance of power, wars for supremacy in commerce have been waged in Europe for lengthened periods. But none has been so lasting as that between employer and labourer. The history of the contest is to be extracted from the Statute Book in Laws long since repealed or modified, or become obsolete." (Prof. T. Rogers, "Economic Interpretation of History. Vol. I., p. 23.)

After such an admission by a Liberal of the type of Thorold Rogers we reach the limits of inanity when it is seriously contended that our labour leaders are on the road to Socialism! There is no class struggle! say those gentlemen. Well then, we may ask, what has your class fraternity led to but the tighter grip of the capitalist on the means of life?

Other lines of thought are stimulated by this lock-out. Our "Industrial Unionist" friends seem to expect miraculous results from a "unified" working class bound together in a few large trade unions. I ask, what if these unions continue to be collared by leaders whose only qualification is their safe mediocrity and the extraordinary vitality of their tongues? What if the working class is still non-Socialist? Given a non-Socialist proletariat we can bind them, or they can bind themselves, into either a dozen large unions or a thousand miniature ones, but the leaders would still be Shackletons, Snowdens and Gills, and the promised land would still be afar off, for not even Industrial Unionism can make bricks without straw, or create the Socialist Commonwealth without Socialists.

JOHN A. DAWSON.



## SOCIALISM & THE STATE.

The Socialist propagandist is often confronted with the assertion that the establishment of a system of Socialism would involve the subjection of the individual to a hide-bound State, that would eventually result in the enslavement of the people.

The Socialist, on the contrary, asserts that the working class are enslaved to-day, and that only the establishment of Socialism can effect their emancipation.

The individualist attacks Socialism from the standpoint that the proposed change simply means the continuation of the present wage-system of production, in which the whole of the wealth of society shall be owned by a number of persons incorporated into a State or bureaucracy, instead of being, as at present, owned by private individuals. He maintains that the right of the individual is supreme, and condemns any action on the part of a State or collection of individuals, that interferes with his desires.

Since correct understanding implies correct interpretation of terms used, and the point revolves upon the meaning of the term "slave," I will preface my remarks with such a definition.

A slave is one who is owned by or controlled by another; one who is compelled to labour to satisfy the wants of another.

The chattel-slave originally was a prisoner of war, whose life was at the disposal of his owner. He was allowed to live in order that he might produce more wealth, or greater satisfaction, for his owner, than could be obtained from his death, i.e., his owner, of course, providing him with the food, clothing and shelter necessary to keep him in a fit condition.

Later on in the development of society we find the serf, who was compelled to labour for a certain period for his lord, the remainder of his time being at his own disposal for the purpose of providing himself and his family with the necessities of life.

To-day the worker, in order to live, is compelled to labour for a certain period. He receives, however, but a portion of the wealth created. Out of the wealth he has produced he receives (according to Mr. Chiozza Money [who estimates the wealth produced at £4 5s. per week per family of five, while the average amount received by a working-class family of five is shown to be below 25s. per week] and other capitalist statisticians) about one-third. That is to say that if he produces goods to the value of £3, he receives as a wage £1, his master taking the remainder.

While there may be a difference in degree in those different forms of exploitation, the principle still remains. The under-dog is compelled to labour for the purpose of producing something to satisfy the wants of others who, holding the things necessary for his life, thereby control him. He is, therefore, still a slave.

The principle would remain if the working class was compelled to work for a State instead of for individual employers. If the whole of the wealth and the means of production are owned by a State and the worker receives a wage, then slavery is not abolished, but is intensified.

The worker to-day, while compelled to work for a master, still has some sort of a choice among those masters, but with the State as the only employer he is compelled to work for that employer and under that employer's conditions, or take the only alternative and starve. State Capitalism would intensify slavery, but State Capitalism is not Socialism.

Our individualist opponent, if a toiler, is subject to others. Others have the power to say when he shall work and when he shall starve, how he shall work and under what conditions. His life and action are determined largely by his spending capacity; by the extent of his wage. He cannot do as he would wish because he is bound to the bench or to the counter. The greater part of his life is occupied by laborious toil or petty business— toil and worry and anxiety in the interest of others. He is robbed by the capitalist employer and oppressed by the capitalist State.

And what is this State? Merely representative of the dominant class; the class in power,

whose interest lies in an opposite direction to the interest of the workers.

The State is merely the force that enables the ruling class to subject the working class.

Large bodies of drilled and armed men are only necessary where the greater number of the people are subject to the few, and those civil and military forces necessary to control the oppressed and exploited class are the "State."

The State grew up at a certain stage of economic development with the growth of the classes, and when the classes are abolished the State will go too. Socialism means no State.

The propertyless have no "rights" under capitalism—not even the right to live. Far from being in any way free they are the property, to all intents and purposes, of the property class. Our opponents have been misled by the so-called friends of the worker—the municipal-cum-nationaliser—by the pet theory of the Fabian, who holds that the "government of the future must be by experts," with the Fabians, of course, as the experts.

Those who read of the conditions of the people of Peru, prior to its conquest by the Spaniards, will find therein many points of resemblance to the proposed bureaucracy of the Fabians.

The Peruvian State was not capitalism: goods being produced, not for sale but, for consumption by the people. Take the following from Prescott (p. 56):

"The Peruvian Government watched with unwearied solicitude over its subjects, provided for their physical necessities, was mindful of their morals, and showed throughout the affectionate concern of a parent for his children, who were never to act or think for themselves, but whose whole duty was comprehended in the obligation of implicit obedience."

And on page 26 we are told "Industry was publicly commended and stimulated by rewards."

Compare this with the following from "Fabian Essays" (1908 edition) under the heading "Socialism and the State" (p. 163). "Out of the value of the communal produce must come, rent of land payable to the local authority, rent of plant needed for working the industries, wages advanced and fixed in the usual way, taxes, reserve fund, accumulation fund, and the other charges necessary for the carrying on of the communal business. All these deducted, the remaining value should be divided among the communal workers as a bonus."

"If there is one vice more than another that will be unpopular under Socialism it is laziness."

In Peru, we are told (Prescott, p. 26) "Occupation was found for all, from the child of five years to the aged matron not too infirm to hold a distaff. No one was allowed to eat the bread of idleness in Peru."

Well may working-men who have studied the conditions of present-day capitalism resent the proposals of the "State Socialist" with his grandmotherly legislative enactments. Such a change as is proposed by him would indeed mean slavery, and would throw the propertyless class still deeper in the mire of social degradation.

The Government of the Incas was in spirit truly patriarchal since "the task imposed upon him was always proportioned to his strength, he had seasons of rest and refreshment and was well protected against the inclemency of the weather," and "every care was shown for his personal safety." Yet the greater number of people in Peru were slaves, and slaves of such a type that the conditions of to-day are preferable to those who, recognising the evils of wage-slavery under which they exist, are trying to find a way out. True the people were kept in subjection by the superstition that the Inca was a supreme being, a descendant of the sun, and they blindly worshipped him as omnipotent. They were prepared to toil for his benefit and for the benefit of his nobles.

But is the superstition of the Fabian worship in any way preferable? To blindly worship the State and to support the supposed experts in control (for we are told [Fabian Essay p. 164] that it is probable that the "captains of Industry will be more highly paid than the rank and file of the industrial army") is as great an error, as foolish a superstition, as to worship the sun and its supposed descendants.

The worker must be forced to realise that to effect his emancipation he must discard all

superstition and must refuse to be led and bossed by self-styled "superior persons." He must understand that in order to obtain the best of things necessary for life, with the least expenditure of energy he must organise with his fellows.

Individual production is played out. Without doubt the best results are to be obtained by social production. All the evil is caused by that co-operation ending with production, and the wealth, socially produced, being owned by a small section of the community. We cannot go back to individual production, nor is it desirable. What must ultimately come is a system wherein wealth shall be socially produced and collectively owned by the producers, who shall say in what way and in what quantity it shall be produced.

In brief, the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth must be owned and controlled by the whole working community. TWEL.

## ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"Barber."—(Wigan.) 1. In Adam Smith's day 3 per cent. was the usual rate of profit for sound security. To-day L.C.C. stock, second only to Consols, are issued at 3½ per cent. In many cases as large rates as ever are made to-day. The Cold Storage Co. paid over 100 per cent., some of the electric power companies have made similar profits, while some of the catering firms pay dividends of 30 to 40 per cent. year after year.

The amount of profit apart from the rate, has of course increased enormously with the increased productivity of labour.

2. Surplus value is the portion of wealth remaining after paying wages, cost of raw material and of machinery used up in the given time. But this as a rule undergoes further deduction for rent for the land, interest, and rates and taxes. The portion of the surplus value that remains is the capitalist's Profit. Profit, therefore, is only a part of surplus value.

3. What you pay for your tobacco and sugar is their market prices, and taxes are the smallest factor in fixing these prices. The workers only receive sufficient to keep them in working condition, hence have no margin wherewith to pay taxes. See "S.S." for October 1904 and June 1905 where the matter is fully dealt with.

4. If you will send particulars of numbers joining we shall be pleased to help you.

5. Yes, old age pensions etc. do come out of surplus value, as shown by answer to question 3.

E.C.R. asks "How do the S.P.G.B. propose to overthrow the present system of society and establish Socialism on Democratic lines and legislative means without Man and Woman Suffrage?"

The Socialist Party is not opposed to Adult Suffrage, but maintain that the working class have quite sufficient votes at their disposal to effect the revolutionary purpose when the class are sufficiently class conscious to make the time opportune. It is a question of education, not of extensions of the franchise; and since the line of social cleavage is drawn through classes and not through sexes, there is nothing undemocratic in proposing to proceed even with our present limited male suffrage.

E. GARREY asks how non-producing workers (instancing insurance collectors) can be exploited.

If 5 hours social labour produces a day's energy, and the worker is compelled to render ten hours labour for the day's necessities which have taken only 5 hours to produce, then, no matter what the result of his labour (and the capitalist will see that it has some tangible result), he is exploited. Apart from this, however, even the so-called non-producing workers are necessary to the operations of the capitalist class, and Friend Garrey must not forget that the workers are exploited as a class since as a class they are deprived of the means of living except through wage slavery.

Replies to other correspondents held over.

## BOOKS RECEIVED.

"The Inner Mission," J. B. PATON, D.D. J. Clarke & Co., Fleet-st. 1s. 6d.

"The Basis of Christian Socialism," H. O. THOMPSON. Henderson, Charing Cross-rd., London. 3d.

Have you read "Socialism and Religion," the latest S.P.G.B. pamphlet? It will interest and enlighten you, whatever may be your outlook on the religious question. It is an important addition to working-class literature.

## SOCIALISM AND THE ANTI-WAR CAMPAIGN.

In our report of the International Congress at Copenhagen we referred briefly to the absurd proposals to organise the workers of the world to ensure "universal disarmament and the prevention of warfare." But in view of the efforts of the British section of the confusionists to "enlighten" the workers on "the all important question of armaments or no armaments, warfare or no warfare" (under capitalism!) and particularly in view of the projected Mass Meeting at the Albert Hall, it is necessary to explain the Socialist position on this matter at greater length.

The Declaration of Principles of the Socialist Party state that the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, and that in order to stop this robbery the workers must capture the powers of government, including the armed forces, so as to turn them into an agent of emancipation. That is unquestionably the Socialist position as it was expounded by Marx and Engels, the founders of scientific Socialism. Those who profess to-day to be the "International Socialist Movement" would not dare to challenge this statement.

However, it is possible to affirm a principle and act contrary to it, as the pseudo-Socialists both nationally and internationally prove.

The main demands in the resolution which the German Social-Democratic Party forced upon the Congress were, compulsory arbitration upon international disputes, and Parliamentary action for disarmament and the prevention of wars. Yet this same party is responsible for the following pronouncement in the exposition of their "Erfurter Program":

As States and monarchs become ever more dependent upon the capitalist class, so the armies cease to serve merely the personal ends of the monarchs and are utilised increasingly for the purposes of the capitalist class. Wars are less and less dynastic and more and more commercial and national, which in the last instance can only be traced back to the economic conflicts between the capitalists of the various nations. The capitalist state, therefore, is not only in need of an extensive army of officials for the purpose of law and police, but it requires also a strong military force. Both armies are ever on the increase in capitalist States, but in recent times the military force grows more rapidly than the army of officials.

Wars being the outcome of economic conflicts between the capitalists of the various nations, it is illogical and unscientific to attempt to abolish war while the economic conflicts remain. But these international reformers, hungry for votes, are ready to abandon the very principles they themselves set up for working-class guidance.

It is clear that the "anti-war campaign," as such, is, from the working-class standpoint, absurd. Just as the class struggle cannot be abolished save by abolishing classes, so it is impossible for capitalist nations to get rid of the grim spectre of war, for capitalism presupposes economic conflicts which must finally be fought out with the aid of the armed forces of the State.

But in fairness to the German S.D.P. it must be admitted that they show some consistency in their anti-Socialist attitude, for, desiring to force the German Government to disarm, they, as a party, adopt the policy of opposing every Budget the Government bring in. It was because the Party representatives in Baden and other minor States violated this policy that dispute raged so furiously between "revolutionists" and revisionists before and during the last Party Congress.

In France, Belgium, Austria, Russia—in every country but England—the reform Internationalists follow this example of anti-Socialist consistency. Only in England the parties affiliated to the "International" clamour for "peace at any price" while supporting budgets which provide means of war, and agitating for a citizen army without military discipline—which they expect the "guileless" capitalist class to establish "in order to enable the workers, when enlightened, to shoot their exploiters into oblivion."

During the discussion on that subject at Copenhagen, Ladebour (German S.D.P.) said when dealing with the anti-war resolution and Keir Hardie's amendment recommending the General Strike to prevent war: "I deny the right of moving such a resolution to anyone who in his own

country supports the Budget. I deny this right, consequently, above all to our English comrades, who by their support of the Budget place in the hands of their masters the weapons which later on they can use for purposes of war. How can they take the liberty of proposing the General Strike to the parties of other countries who are far more anti-militarist than they happen to be? So long as they support the Budget and supply the arms let them not bring forward more extreme proposals than ourselves."

Hardie, in reply to this attack, assured the Congress of the Labour Party's hostility to war, nay more, to militarism, and explained their support of the Budget as a matter, not of principle, but of tactics and practical politics.

Now to nail this impudent lie to the counter. In his last election address, published in the *Labour Leader* for 11.2.10, Keir Hardie says: "The Budget, Old Age Pensions and the like, all have their roots in Socialism; that is why the enemies of the people spend so much time trying to misrepresent it." If the Budget has its "roots in Socialism," surely to support it must be a matter of principle, and if these measures are part of Socialism, the Liberals are Socialists and Hardie and the whole British Section of so-called Socialists again proven imposters. Further, the Liberals do not differ at all from Hardie and his party on the question of armaments. The *Daily Chronicle* (12.11.10) says: "It is the mad race in armaments which creates the atmosphere of hostility and maintains the tension." The Liberal newspaper evidently takes up the attitude of dealing with effects, not causes, and the Labour Party are no more logical or convincing.

There is even more direct evidence of fraudulence in the attitude the so-called English Socialist Section adopted at Copenhagen regarding the question of war and militarism. On March 18 Mr. G. H. Roberts M.P. (I.L.P. and L.P.), speaking on behalf of the Labour Party in the discussion on the Naval Estimates in the Commons said: "There seems to be an idea in the minds of hon. gentl men that the Labour Party were strongly opposed to an efficient Navy. He did not think that anybody could point to any utterance that had been delivered from the Labour Party members that could give colour to deductions of that sort. The Labour Party looked upon the Navy as a form of national insurance." (*Labour Leader*, March 25, 1910.)

How flatly this contradicts Hardie's election vow, the Party's declaration of hostility to militarism, and the attitude of the hypocrites at the International Congress at Copenhagen!

And the S.D.P. is not a whit better than the other branches of the section. Mr. Jack Jones, their spokesman at the Congress, supported the amendment in favour of the General Strike for preventing war, declaring that his organisation preach war against war, and that there is no reason to suspect the S.D.P. of pro-militarist proclivities.

But what are the facts? Hyndman in his lecture on "Tariff Reform and Imperialism" (Queen's Hall, 18.4.10) said: "I am in favour of the maintenance of a powerful navy capable of defending this island and of protecting our food supply against any assailant," and H. Quelch, the author of "The Armed Nation" (the title of which sufficiently indicates its pro-militarist contents), writes in an article on the Copenhagen Congress (*Justice*, 10.9.10): "The resolution on armaments is much more satisfactory, and we have little fault to find with the conclusions of the conference on this subject."

We do agree with putting forward the General Strike as a means of preventing war. So those who demand a powerful navy and a citizen army "capable of defending this island and protecting our food supply," also want to apply the General Strike, presumably to prevent them doing it! And those who (rightly enough) opposed the General Strike as a means to Socialism, on the ground that when the workers are sufficiently organised for a General Strike they are able to attain Socialism without it, clutch at it, not as a means to end the system which makes war, but as a preventative of hostilities!

The Socialist position is as follows: In society to-day there are two classes—the propertyless or working class and an idle class who own and control the means of producing and distributing wealth. The latter use this ownership and control to force the workers to work for them, and to submit to being robbed of the greater part of

the produce of their labour. The master class, being but a tenth of the population, can only keep possession of the means of production by their control (through the political machinery) of the armed forces. While the master class have that control it is hopeless for the workers to attempt to seize capitalist property. It is sheer madness, therefore, to expect that the capitalist class would, because the workers demand it, either abolish the armed forces or hand their control over to the working class. That would be to abolish themselves as a ruling class. Further, the interests of the capitalists of one country clash with those of the capitalists of other lands, especially in the matter of obtaining markets, and so long as capitalism lasts there will be this clash of interests, necessitating ever-increasing armaments and the inevitable appeal to arms. It is then absurd to waste time and energy in an endeavour to convince the capitalists that wars are superfluous and a curse under capitalism.

Let the workers learn their position in society and unite to obtain control of the machinery of government, including the armed forces. Such action will make it possible for them to take possession of the means of production and use them for the benefit of all. In that way alone will they be able to usher in a system of a society wherein universal unity of interests will abolish all war, be it between classes or nations.

H. J. N.

## WALTHAMSTOW.

The Walthamstow electorate had two capitalist candidates to choose from. Of course, it was left to the S.P.G.B. to point out this aspect of the situation. During the week preceding the election the Party members held meetings practically every evening, all of which were very largely attended and attentively followed. A leaflet, brief but to the point, was distributed throughout the division, pointing out that Liberal and Tory were equally the enemies of the working class, and advising the latter to abstain from voting, and to write "Socialism" across their ballot papers.

This caused consternation in the enemy's camp, particularly among the pseudo-Socialists. The Executive Council of the Social-Democratic Party published a manifesto (passed by the local branch by a majority of about four after two or three special meetings had been held) calling upon the working class to vote Tory. "Treachery and lying," said these fine judges of treachery and lying, "are even worse than arrogance and brutality." Even so, but in their case the deeper dye of the first named abnoxious qualities does not cover up the persistent stain of arrogance and brutality. Said the manifesto further: "Fellow Workers, both the capitalist factions are your enemies. . . . Vote, therefore, against Simon." The logic of the "therefore" is, of course, irresistible, and doubtless it constrained multitudes to vote for Johnson, one of "the Tories who, during their 17 years tenure of power proved themselves quite as indifferent to the welfare of the people at home . . . as Liberals and Radicals." (*Justice*, 29.10.10.)

One thing, at least, the S.D.P. succeeded in doing during the election, that is, in showing again what an anti-working-class party they are.

Their decision to vote Tory was probably the result of the discussion in *Justice* a few months back on what they should do with their votes.

The I.L.P. also issued a manifesto urging the workers to vote against the Liberal on the ground that he refused to give a definite promise that he and the Liberal party would work for the reversal of the Osborne judgment. This was distinctly funny, for, as the Tory papers pointed out at the time, Mr. Johnson, the Tory candidate, had stated very clearly that he upheld the Osborne judgment. That a large number of the workers saw through the I.L.P. trickery is certain, particularly in view of the fact that only ten months previously the same party were shouting themselves hoarse advising the electors to vote for Simon!

However, if figures count for anything, the combined efforts of the I.L.P. and S.D.P. had little other result than to expose their own weakness, for the Liberal increased his majority by 571 votes, while the total poll was 2,677 less than at the General Election. J. T. B.



**S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR DECEMBER.**

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	4th.	11th.	18th.	25th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30 H. Joy	A. Barker	J. Halls	G. Holmes
Edmonton, the Green	7.30 H. Martin	H. Cooper	J. Kemble	H. Joy
Finsbury Park	7.30 A. Anderson	F. J. Rourke	T. W. Allen	A. W. Pearson
Forest Gate, Sebert Road	11.30 J. Kelly	A. Jacobs	F. J. Rourke	A. Jacobs
Islington, St. Thomas' rd.	7.30 T. W. Allen	C. Ginger	R. Fox	F. C. Watts
Kennington Triangle	11.30 G. Holmes	H. Martin	A. Barker	H. Martin
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	" F. Dawkins	J. Halls	A. Jacobs	F. Dawkins
"	7.30 R. H. Kent	T. W. Allen	A. Anderson	F. Dawkins
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30 F. Leigh	F. C. Watts	T. W. Allen	J. Halls
Peckham Triangle	7.30 J. Halls	G. Holmes	H. Cooper	H. Newman
Rushcroft-rd., Brixton	7.30 A. Barker	H. Martin	G. Holmes	H. Martin
Stoke Newington, Eddy Rd., Balston	11.30 T. W. Allen	F. Dawkins	G. Holmes	C. Ginger
Tooting Broadway	7.30 A. Barker	H. Joy	F. Leigh	H. Joy
"	7.30 H. Joy	R. Fox	F. C. Watts	A. Barker
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	11.30 A. W. Pearson	A. Anderson	F. Dawkins	A. Anderson
"	7.30 A. Jacobs	A. Anderson	H. Martin	F. Stearn
Walthamstow, Hoe-st. Stn.	8.0 F. J. Rourke	F. J. Webb	R. Kenny	R. Fox
Wandsworth, Buckhold Road	" G. Holmes	H. Joy	A. Barker	J. Kemble
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30 F. J. Webb	J. Kelly	F. W. Stearn	T. W. Allen
"	7.30 R. Fox	R. Kenny	A. Pearson	J. Kelly

**MONDAYS.**—Islington, Highbury Cnr. 8.30. Waltham Green Church, 8 p.m.**TUESDAYS.**—Battersea, Prince's Head, 8 p.m.**WEDNESDAYS.**—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Waltham Green, Church, 8. Plaistow, Greengate, 8. Peckham Triangle 8.30. Hoxton Church, 8.30. [croft rd., Brixton, 8 p.m.]**THURSDAYS.**—Battersea, Prince's Head, 8.0. Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Earlsfield-rd., 8. Rush-**FRIDAYS.**—Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, St. Loy's rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30. Ilford, Seven King's Station, 8.**SATURDAYS.**—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m. East Ham, Ruskin Avenue, 8 p.m. Streatham, Fountain, 8 p.m.**SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.**

HEAD OFFICE:

10, SANDLAND STREET, LONDON, W.C.

**BRANCH DIRECTORY.**

**BATTERSEA.**—A. Jones, Secretary, 3, Mathew-st., Latchmere Estate, Battersea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnam House, 134, High-street, Battersea, S.W.

**BURNLEY.**—G. Schofield, Sec., 23 Mitella-street, Fulledge, Burnley. Branch meets every Sunday at 11 a.m. at above address.

**CENTRAL.**—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

**EARLSFIELD.**—R. B. Goodwin, Sec., 48, Plough-lane, Wimbledon. Branch meets Sats., 29, Thornsett-rd. at 8.0. Rooms open every evening.

**EAST HAM.**—Communications to Sec., 421, High-st. North, East Ham, where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.

**EDMONTON.**—Sidney Auty, Sec. 60, Gilpin Grove, Edmonton. Branch meets alternate Sats. at 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.

**FRASERBURGH.**—H. J. Whipp, Sec., 53, Broad-st., Fraserburgh.

**FULHAM.**—J. Williams Secretary, 45, Warple Way, Wandsworth, S.W. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Fridays at 8 p.m. at Ingram's Coffee Rooms, Fulham Cross.

**ISLINGTON.**—P. Gray, Sec., 19, Beaumont-rd., Hornsey Rise, N. Branch meets every Wed. at 8 at 144, Seven Sisters-rd. Holloway, N.

**LAMBETH.**—Communications to Secy, 110, Rufus Ter., Lorrimore-st., Kennington, S.W. Branch meets Mondays, 8.30 p.m., at 306 Walworth-rd.

**MANCHESTER.**—T. McCarthy, Sec., 42, Gledde-st., Bradford-rd., Manchester. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Fridays at 8 p.m. at County Forum, Cromford-court.

**NOTTINGHAM.**—Branch meets 1st and 3rd Sats. at 7.30 at James Dining rooms, 105 Parliament-st.

**PADDINGTON.**—B. Carthurs, Sec., 33, Walerton-rd., Maida Hill, W. Branch meets Thurs. 8.30 p.m., at 14, Gt. Western-rd., Harrow-rd., W.

**PECKHAM.**—J. Benford, Sec., 38, Kimberley-rd., Nunhead. Branch meets every Fri. at 8.30 at 21, Nunhead Lane, Peckham.

**ROMFORD DIVISION.**—All communications to branch Secretary, 27, York-rd., Ilford where Branch meets Sundays, 8 p.m.

**STOKE NEWINGTON.**—S. Quelch, Sec., 152, High-st., Shoreditch, E.C. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Mon., 8 p.m. at 2, Dalston Lane.

**THORNTON HEATH.**—A. McIntyre, Sec., 29, Gills-land-rd., Thornton Heath.

**TOOTING.**—H. Wallis, Sec., 167, Longley Rd., Tooting. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30, at Gorrings Dining Rooms, Tooting Junction.

**TOTTENHAM.**—F. Fryer, Sec., 3 Gloucester-rd., Tottenham. Branch meets every Monday at 8 p.m., at High Cross Institute, 314 High-rd.

**WALTHAMSTOW.**—H. Crump, Sec., 244, Forest-rd., Walthamstow. Branch meets at the Pioneer Institute, 182 Hoe-st., every Monday at 8.30.

**WATFORD.**—G. Glen, Sec., 4, Marlborough Road. Branch meets every Friday at 8 p.m. at Labour Church, Durban-rd. Public discussion at 8.45.

**WEST HAM.**—Communications to Secretary. Branch meets Mondays 7.30, at Boleyn Dining Rooms, 459, Green Street, Upton Park.

**WOOLWICH.**—G. Ayres, Sec., 452 Woolwich Road,

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**THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.****OBJECT.**

*The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.*

**Declaration of Principles****THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN****HOLDS**

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

**APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.**

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

**BURNLEY BRANCH, S. P. G. B.**

**PROPAGANDA MEETINGS.**  
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